

O R I G I N
AND
E A R L Y H I S T O R Y
OF
P R E S B Y T E R I A N I S M
I N V I R G I N I A

A
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for the
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Edinburgh, Scotland.

by
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1932.

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TO

My WIFE and MOTHER

Whose love, devotion, and encouragement
have helped to make this work possible;

and to

The Members of
BRIDGEWATER and DAYTON
Presbyterian Churches,

This Book

Is Affectionately Dedicated.

PREFACE

This subject was accepted for a Ph. D. Thesis in the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, upon suggestion of Professor Hugh Watt, and has been found intensely interesting and absorbing. In this age when men live and think so much in the present, there is, nevertheless, an unbroken cord that still holds our interest in the lives and actions of our forefathers. This is particularly true in regard to those who laid the foundation of that institution we all love and revere so much--THE CHURCH.

Though the author has endeavored in every respect to make this volume interesting and attractive, he has not done so at the expense of the truth. Every statement here presented is referred to a note at the bottom of the page which will give the source and authority for such statement. In a few cases errors have been found in other works, but, with several exceptions, it has not been thought necessary to take the space to argue the point, so just the facts are given and the matter permitted to rest.

In order to verify quotations from old original manuscripts, and to use newly discovered records and old rare volumes, several trips have been made to Richmond, and a trip each to Montreat, N.C., Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia, Penn. Letters have been written to practically all the pastors of eighteenth century churches in Virginia, and some others, with splendid response. Some rare old volumes have been purchased.

In short, no expense or labor has been spared in order to obtain material bearing on the subject. Freedom has been taken in the use of phraseology, and quotations given only when they add to the value of the text.

Scope.- It has been the endeavor of the author to bring this history down through the year 1800, and when it was possible to do so, particularly in the case of churches, the present condition has been given in order to show the progress made. The territory included is that of the present state of Virginia, with the exception of a few churches now in the bounds of West Virginia, but which are still in the Virginia Synod. The size of the volume has proven to be much longer than originally expected, but it does not seem possible to make it any shorter and still do justice to the subject.

Abbreviations.- No abbreviations have been used but such as may be found in any Collegiate Dictionary, or that are in common use in Church work, excepting in the title of books cited in the foot notes, and here the full title may easily be found in the Bibliography under the Author's name; or where no author is given, under the title of the book; or in the case of Histories of individual churches, under the name of the church.

D. L. Beard.

Bridgewater, Virginia,

March 10, 1932.

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INTRODUCTION

I. Obscurity of Early History.

Emigration.— It is well to admit in the beginning of our work that the early history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and of course in Virginia, is involved in great obscurity. The reason for this is obvious. Presbyterians did not at first emigrate in large bodies or settle in colonies ^{by} to themselves. They came generally as individuals or in small companies, and settled in the midst of people of other denominations. It was, therefore, in most instances only gradually that they became sufficiently numerous in any one place to form congregations, or to associate in a Presbyterian capacity. This peculiarity in the history of American Presbyterianism arose, in a great measure, from the fact, that the persecution which drove so many of the early settlers to this country, fell, in the first instance, heaviest on the Independents and Quakers; and when it came upon the Presbyterians (at least those of Scotland) it did not drive them so generally from their own country, but led to a protracted struggle for liberty at home. (1)

Late Appearance of Presbyterianism.— The Presbyterian Church assumed its ecclesiastical form in America long after the establishment here of the Puritans, Episcopalians, Roman

(1) History of the Presbyterian Church, Hodge, 8, 21.

Catholics, and Quakers--most of whom came and settled in colonies at the beginning, transporting their previous organizations and peculiarities of belief. It is to be presumed that a few Presbyterians, interested in commercial enterprises, had emigrated with others at an early date and were scattered throughout the Colonies. But these were so few, so far removed from each other, and so destitute of any bond of union, as to prevent their associating together in organized congregations even, and much more in a presbyterial capacity, till at quite a late period. The Episcopalians were drawn to America from a South Sea dream of wealth and empire. The other bodies were driven into exile, to seek a hiding place in the wilderness, by unrelenting bigotry and persecution in the land of their nativity. But, at the time the America Colonies commenced settling, Scotland, where Presbyterians were most numerous was comparatively free from persecution, and Presbyterianism was established and fortified in that nation by the laws of the land, and was approved of by the strong and popular sentiment of the kingdom. It is true that James, after he ascended the throne of England, did endeavor, by frequent and insidious attempts, to introduce a kind of half-way Episcopacy into Scotland; and his successor, Charles I, persisted in the same ill-judged attempt, until it cost him his crown and his head. But they made poor progress in their undertaking; and although the Scotch people were subjected to many hardships and sufferings, they never ceased to contend for their rights, and

never despaired of obtaining an ultimate triumph--so that few, if any, were forced to leave on account of religion. In Ireland also, where there were a number of Presbyterians, though it had been the scene of bloody massacre and persecution, they were still contending for their rights, and in hopes for success--so that the tide of emigration which, at a later period, brought so many Irish Presbyterians to this country, had not then set in upon that people. (1)

These circumstances may account for the late period at which Presbyterianism made its appearance in the American Colonies, as well as for the absence of materials connected with its earliest history in these Provinces.

IV. Presbyterianism Taking Root in America.

Distinctive Character.— We must notice from the outset that American Presbyterianism, like American civilization, has derived its distinctive character from many and diverse influences. As we trace the course of its history we find it receiving tributaries from distant and varied sources, yet all blending in a current that flows in a channel of its own, and marked at every step by features peculiar to itself. Commingled in it, and made more or less homogeneous by it, we find the elements of English dissent, Irish fervor, Scotch persistence, and Huguenot devotion. There is scarce a memorable event in the history of Protestantism in the Old World that does not help to elucidate the

(1) History American Presbyn., Hill, pp. vi-vii.

character of its founders. It inherits alike the memories of the noble men who fell victims to the bigotry of Alva or Laud, or endured the brutal cruelty of Lauderdale or Jeffries. In the annals of the Genevan republic, the heroism of the Netherlands, the sufferings of the Huguenots--culminating in the bloody St. Bartholomew--the sterling conscientiousness of the Puritans, and the unswerving loyalty to Christ's crown and covenant evinced by the countrymen of John Knox, may be discerned the elements of that training which shaped the views and character of its founders.(1) These differing origins and national relationships of the colonists in part account for the existence of the several Presbyterian denominational churches in the United States.

British Ancestry.— The main branch of American Presbyterianism sprang from the British rather than the Continental stock. The latter, though starting at the Reformation and accepting the Calvinistic type of Protestant doctrine, yet failed to justify its earlier promise, and especially during the seventeenth century suffered serious deteriorations in both character and influence. But the Presbyterianism of the British Isles, and especially of Scotland, had meanwhile strengthened and improved alike in essential qualities and in ecclesiastical position; and before the middle of the seventeenth century it had secured for itself a permanent home and a commanding influence from Edinburgh

(1) Hist. Presbyn. Church in U.S.A., Gillett, I, 1-2.

to London. There was much in such a type of doctrine to win and hold the British mind. Its sharply defined religious experiences, its practical and efficient methods, its free and just forms of organization, and especially its clear, positive, cogent presentation of all that was most vital in Protestantism, gave it ready entrance and won for it a permanent home. Under such favoring conditions British Presbyterianism steadily grew and flourished, and before the end of the century it had confirmed its right to separate existence, had justified its positions on the broadest scriptural grounds, had embodied and glorified itself in the symbols of Westminster, had been established in Scotland as the national church, and had become known throughout Europe as one of the most effective forces in current Protestantism.(1)

From this noble stock American Presbyterianism had its beginnings; to this British Ancestry it mainly owes its existence. But it was not till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when British Presbyterians in large numbers were compelled to flee from the rigors of prelacy, and when kindred immigration from other quarters had become more extensive that particular congregations began to be formed in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the first Presbytery was organized; and our Church assumed its definite place among the denominational organisms which were henceforth to shape together the religious history of this new continent.(2)

(1) Centennial Historical Disc. 256-8. (2) Ibid. 258-9.

Peculiarities of Growth.- There were some peculiar conditions of growth in the American Presbyterian Church different from most other churches, that it would be well to notice here. Of these the first was a gradual separation from the parent stock, brought about mainly by the difficult and consequently infrequent means of communication of these early days. This threw the early church at a very early date, practically entirely upon its own resources.

A second peculiar condition contributing to the growth of American Presbyterianism was the change in the original British material caused by the intermingling of other elements, partly from Continental sources, and partly from New England.

And still another peculiar condition was brought about by the fact that the Presbyterian Church from the very beginning was dependent entirely upon the voluntary principle which was an essential element in that broad conception of religious liberty already appearing in American thought. Under this principle the American Presbyterian Church lived and prospered, depending on no regium donum, asking from the State nothing but protection, and resting solely on the devotion and the labors and sacrifices of those who loved and were willing to sustain it. To some this must have seemed anomalous and full of danger, but to the young Church, just rising into form and vigor, it became an experiment full of blessings; and has shown that the Church of Christ can not only live but progress without the aid of civil

support.

Thus, even during the first period, from 1706 to 1758, a native type of Presbyterianism, fashioned largely by these new exigencies and differing in some particulars from the Scotch form, rose into shape and vigor. The struggles and alienations of the Revolution completed this process; and with the formation of the General Assembly in 1788, the American Presbyterian Church may be said to have entered fully upon its career of independent existence. Almost from the first it adopted the Westminster Confession as its standard of Faith which is still held today. The polity of the mother churches was cordially adopted but administered in a spirit and in methods largely its own. No longer Scotch or Irish, Huguenot or Puritan, it thus became a Church distinctly American, under no allegiance to foreign authorities or precedents, sustaining, regulating, developing itself as freely, as independently, as the young nation with whose life and career it was so closely identified.(1)

(1) Ibid. 259-263.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter I

EARLY SETTLERS AND THEIR CHURCH

Early Colonies.-- Though Lief Erickson had undoubtedly landed on the American coast about 1000 A.D., and Columbus had shown the way in 1492 to an interested Europe, the first permanent settlement of English was not landed in America until the spring of 1607. This was on the north bank of the James River, about forty miles from its mouth, in the present State of Virginia.(1) Regardless of the almost unbelievable hardships from hunger and attacks of the native Indians, the colony grew rapidly so that in the beginning of the next century there were nearly 100,000 white settlers in Virginia.(2)

Early Life.-- These early inhabitants were all planters, and scattered over the country as suited their interest or convenience. At the time of the Revolution in 1688 there were no large or small towns, or even villages in Virginia. They lived unrestrained, fed by their plantations and the abundance of the sea. The raising of tobacco became the chief industry within ten years after the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, and in 1619 was made the legal currency

(1) Hist. of Southwest Va., Summers, 9; Hist. of America, Winterbotham, I, 160-2; Hist. of Va., Campbell, 23, 26-28, 35-41; Hist. of Va., Beverley, 5-10; Hist. of Amer., Frost, I, 13, 146.

(2) Hist. of America, Winterbotham, I 163-4; Hist. of U.S., Jones, 48-50; Hist. of Augusta Co., Peyton, 23-24; History of Virginia, Campbell, 383.

of the colony.(1) The splendid market for this commodity in the old country helped to make the colony self supporting practically from the beginning, and advertised its merits across the sea.(2)

The Governor of Virginia,(who was Commander, Vice-Admiral, Lord Treasurer, Lord Chancellor, and Chief Justice, with certain powers also that belonged to a Bishop) and Council acted out to the extent of their ability, the state and parade of the King and his Lords. The House of Burgesses took the place of the House of Commons in England, and the wealthy planters that of the nobility and gentry. These latter flocked to Williamsburg on special occasions and learned to imitate the profusion and elegance of the Governor. All the elements of the Virginia character, in its excellence and follies, were in operation by the time of the English Revolution in 1688-- wealth, love of ease, profusion of expense, generosity, unrestrained passions, chivalric attention to the fair sex, high sense of honor, personal independence, carelessness of money, sense of superiority, and easy manners. These governed by devoted attachment to the Crown, and the religion of the State, because it was the religion of the State, and of their fathers, and of the King, formed a state of society interesting and peculiar. It exhibited in strong contrast the scholar and the unlearned; the vulgar and the gentleman; the African slave and his Anglo-Saxon master.

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 7-9.

(2) Ibid. 37.

Self-possessed from their daily exposures they were in danger of over confidence in their own judgment and capabilities. They knew nothing in America greater and grander than their own beautiful and luxuriant colony. They talked independently to the mother country, bowing to the majesty of the crown, from whose splendor the ocean alone separated them.(1)

Church and State.— The Church of England was the Established Church in Virginia practically from the beginning, and the support of, and attendance upon its services was a matter of duty laid vigorously upon every member of the colony.(2) The Church soon came to be controlled by the aristocracy, and was one of the bulwarks of the Old Dominion social fabric. It was therefore guarded with particular care. Laws were made from the very first requiring church loyalty and attendance, to the penalty of severe whippings, serving time in the galleys, and for some offences death.(3) The first representative body of legislature that ever existed in America--The House of Burgesses--meeting July 30, 1619, affirmed the authority of the Church. Attendance at its services twice on Sunday was required.(4)

The Vestry.— For a number of years "the vestries were the depositories of power in Virginia. They not only governed the church, but the election of ministers, the laying of taxes and the enforcing of the laws, and also made laws for the

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 37.

(2) Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 202; Separation of Church and State, Eckenrode, 5.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 26-27; Hist. Presbyn. Church in U.S.A., Gillett, 7. (4) Colonial records of Va., 27-28.

House of Burgesses."(1) There was no ecclesiastical court higher than the vestry, so that vice, profaneness, and immorality were not very well repressed, and the people hated the very name of "Bishop's Court."(2) Not only did the ministers often come in conflict with the vestries, but the Governor also, and in most cases the vestry proved to be the strongest,- The chief trouble causing Gov. Spotswood's removal in 1722 was with the vestry. A commissary was appointed to remedy this state of affairs in 1688 with little results.(3)

Slow Progress of the Church.- This state of things has been given as one of the reasons why the church made such slow progress in the colonies. The right to govern itself had been surrendered to the State authorities. Mr. Anderson tells us, "For the want of this completeness of Ecclesiastical ordination to legal establishment, no endowment or salutes can ever compensate.....Spoiled of its own proper means of action and center of union, it must in process of time lose its energy of spirit and dignity of character and sink as the church in Virginia sank amidst its tithes of tobacco, its appointments of vestries, its visitation by commanders and its episcopacy of governors."(4)

Irresponsible Clergy.- The clergy, in many instances were miserably handled by the vestry, who frequently just hired them from year to year, used them how they pleased, payed

(1) Given in Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 197.

(2) Present State of Virginia, Jones, 97-110; History of Virginia, Campbell, 374.

(3) Struggle of Prot.Dissenters, McIlwaine, 8-13; Colonial Era in Amer., Fisher, 60; Hist. of Va., Campbell, 249, 374, 400-4.

(4) Hist. Colonial Chs., Anderson--Given in Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 198.

them at their pleasure, and discarded them whenever they had a mind to it. Altercations between minister and people were not infrequent; the parson was a favorite butt for aristocratic ridicule. Sometimes a pastor more exemplary than the rest was removed from mercenary motives, or on account of faithful discharge of his duties. More frequently the unfit were retained by popular indifference. The minister was obliged to be careful how he preached against the vices of individual members of the vestry, or he would be in danger of not getting his pay. The ministers were merely tenants at sufferance vainly deploring the precarious tenure of their livings.(1)

The consequence of all this was that a good minister seldom came to Virginia, and when they did were soon driven away by such high-handed proceedings. Sometimes only twenty percent of the parishes had ministers. The Act of Uniformity passed in 1662, which required that all its ministers should be Episcopally ordained, does not seem to have materially bettered the standard. Gov. Berkley, writing in 1671, says, "We have forty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But of all other commodities, so of this the worst are sent to us."(2) Many of the clergy became very dissipated so that it was necessary for the Assembly to pass

(1) History Colonial Churches, Anderson, II, 558-561; History of Virginia, Campbell, 227-279, 400-4.

(2) History of Virginia, Campbell, 249, 368; Present State of Va., Jones, 69; Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 197; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 34.

an act in 1632, directing "that ministers shall not give themselves to excess in drinking, or riot, spending their time idly, by day or night, playing at dice, cards or any other unlawful game." (1)

Palliation for Condition.- There is an excuse, or rather a palliation, for the condition of the Established Church. The executive officer did not reside in Virginia; nor till after the Revolution in England in 1688, did a commissary reside in the province, and he was a little more than a figure head. Proper discipline, therefore, could not be kept up. Multitudes of cases that could only be judged in England required attention on the spot, and in their neglect the church suffered. Not until 1771 was there even proposed any organized movement looking to the establishment of an American Episcopate. (2)

Many Become Dissenters.- This state of affairs caused the people to lose confidence in the Established Church, and, when the opportunity presented itself to them, they were ready to join with the dissenters. They had been hungering and thirsting for the Gospel and were not receiving it in the Established Church. (Of course there were some exceptions. Some Established ministers were good men, and preached the gospel). Consequently when dissenting ministers came along preaching the truth of the word of God,

(1) Ibid.

(2) Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 198.

it was only natural that the people would be converted to their way of thinking and worshipping. Some of those, then who would otherwise have remained in the Established Church, joined with the dissenters, and many of them later became good Presbyterians.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter II

PURITAN DISSENTERS

The term "Puritan" was applied to all who were desirous of a greater degree of purity, in ceremonies, discipline, or doctrine, than they found in the Established Church of England.(1)

1. Arrivals in Virginia.

Early Presence.— The percentage of Puritans in Virginia during the seventeenth century can only be conjectured. However, their presence is found much earlier, and their number and influence much greater than is commonly supposed. The London Company seems to have arrogated to itself large liberty in sending settlers, and indeed, it is not to be expected that they would be very strict in requiring of applicants for patents to conform to the Church of England when the most energetic means were being employed to find colonists.(2)

Rev. Robert Hunt, the minister who came with the first body of settlers, may have been a Puritan, and also Mr. Glover, his successor. They were both educated at the University of Cambridge where Puritanism was dominant, and their principles were not put to the test in Virginia. But

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 22.

(2) The Early Virginia Puritans, Mack, 390-4. See, Struggle of Prot. Dissenters, McIlwaine, 14ff.

if the Puritanism of these two men is incapable of proof, the same cannot be said of Alexander Whitaker, (1) a godly clergyman and missionary called the "Self-denying Apostle of Virginia," who came to the colony in 1611, and ministered to the new settlements--Henrico and Bermuda. (2) He was a son of the famous Puritan Professor of Divinity, Dr. Wm. Whitaker, of Cambridge, and cousin of Dr. Wm. Gouge, a leading member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and first Moderator of the Provincial Assembly of London. John Smith says under date of June 18, 1614, "Master Whitaker their preacher complaineth, and much museth, that so few of our English ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription, come hither where neither is spoken of." (3) After Whitaker's death in 1617 he was succeeded by George Keith, also a Puritan, who settled, however, not at Henrico, but Elizabeth City. It is likely that many of the Puritans previous to 1662 did not dissent, but continued to worship in the Established churches. (4)

Bermuda, sometimes called "Bermuda Hundred," was most likely made up largely of English Puritans, (5) and Hope-in-Faith, the name of a part of the tract of Henrico, suggests a Puritan origin. It is not improbable that a portion of Sir Thomas's settlers were of that faith. Rock Hall, the

(1) Virginia Presby'tism and Religious Liberty, Johnson, 9.

(2) Colonial Era in America, Fisher, 41.

(3) Gen. Hist. of Va., Smith, II, 32; Clerical vestments were not worn by these early Established ministers of Virginia. Surplices began to be used about 1724. (The Early Virginia Puritans, Mack, 405)

(4) Old Virginia, Fiske, I, 302; Early Va. Puritans, Mack, 402.

(5) People's History of Presbyterianism, Kerr, 122.

parsonage of Alexander Whitaker, was in sight across the river.(1)

In 1618 one hundred and fifty Presbyterians led by Elder Francis Blackwell, sailed for Virginia. All except twenty died during the voyage, but this shows the Puritan drift towards Virginia.(2)

Master Gookins.-- Daniel Gookins, a native of Kent, moved to the neighborhood of Cork, Ireland, whence he came to Virginia in 1621 with a number of servants and laborers, including eighty Irish, and settled in the vicinity of Newport News. Here they would be less likely to attract notice, or meet with disturbance from the want of conformity to the established worship. This is the same Mr. Gookins who so bravely defended his house at "Mary's Mount" during the Indian massacre, and was doubtless a Puritan or English Presbyterian. His son of the same name, called "Master Gookins," was. It is highly probable that these Irish were Presbyterians. Many of them with their leader "Master Gookins" were among the followers of the Puritan ministers who were sent to Virginia in 1642.(3)

Puritan Ministers.-- Rev. Robert Bolton preached at Elizabeth City and on the Eastern Shore along about this time.(4) In 1621 Edwin Bennett, an influential citizen of London, made a settlement on Nansemond River, and was accompanied by

(1) Virginia History of the People, Cooke, 90.

(2) The Early Virginia Puritans, Mack, 408.

(3) History American Presbyterianism, Hill, 65; Virginia History of the People, Cooke, 171; The Early Virginia Puritans, Mack, 399.

(4) American Presbyterianism, Briggs, 90

Rev. Wm. Bennett who remained only two years.(1) Rev. Henry Jacob, who fled with the celebrated John Robinson to Leyden where he was converted to the faith of the Puritans, and subsequently returned to England and organized the first Congregational church in that country in 1616, emigrated to Virginia in 1624 with thirty members of his congregation, and, settling on Nansemond River, succeeded Wm. Bennett, where he died after a brief residence.(2) He was in turn succeeded by Rev. Lathrop.(3) Rev. Richard Bennett also labored in the Nansemond settlement sometime after Mr. Lathrop.(4)

Letters to New England.— In 1641 and 1642 letters were sent from Virginia to the ministers of New England, bewailing their sad condition for want of the gospel, and entreating supplies. The letter written in May 1642 was signed by Richard Bennett, Daniel Gookin, John Hyll, and others to the number of seventy-one, in which they speak of themselves as "inhabitants of the country of the Upper Norfolk in Virginia," and the country, they say, is of large extent, and divided into three parts, each of which was willing to support a pastor.(5)

Three New England Ministers.— The above mentioned letters were openly read at Boston upon a lecture day, and the ministers agreed to set apart a day for fasting and prayer to implore the direction of God about it. The result was that

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- (1) Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 200.
(2) Ibid.; Hist. Pres. Church in U.S., Gillett, I, 7-8.
(3) Ibid.—Gillett, I, 8.
(4) Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 201.
(5) Hist. Pres. Church in U.S., Gillett, I, 9; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 30-32; New England, Felt, I 216, 471-527.

Oct. 7, 1642 Rev. Messrs. Knowles and Thompson set sail for Virginia. At New Haven, they took in a third minister, Rev. Thomas James, for their assistance. The voyage was slow and difficult, taking eleven weeks. They began to suspect whether they had a clear call of God to the undertaking, but their success on their arrival dispelled all fears. The magistrates, indeed, gave them little encouragement, but from the people they received a warm welcome. Their labors were crowned with abundant success, and many people were brought home to God. The church they organized could not be suppressed for a number of years, and history does not show that it was ever entirely suppressed. Because of their great success they were not long left unmolested by the State. Their meeting houses were first closed to them, but the people resorted to them in private homes, and at length they were forced to leave. They had scarcely gotten out of the state when the Indians under Opechankanough rose and massacred a large number of the settlers. A "mortal sickness" also prevailed, and the Governor ordered those who were left and would not conform to Episcopacy to leave the jurisdiction.(1)

Rev. Thomas Harrison.— Among those that escaped these miserable hardships, some were gathered into church order by Rev. Thomas Harrison, the governor's chaplain who had been converted to Puritanism under the above mentioned preaching, and who became quite another man after this providence than he was before. This activity among the dissenters, and his

(1) Ibid.; Also American Presbyterianism, Briggs, 109-110.

evangelistic views, which were too serious for the Governor, resulted in his dismissal as chaplain. He continued as their pastor until 1648, at which time there were 118 associated in church fellowship under his care. In this year Mr. Harrison was forced to leave the colony, and he went to New England, and finally to Ireland.(1)

The congregations left by Mr. Harrison were punished in various ways because they would not conform. Many were confined in prison, and this not producing the desired result, they were generally disarmed, which was^a very harsh measure in a country surrounded by hostile Indian savages. Some of them were forced to remove to Maryland in 1649, but they were not long to be satisfied there. The authority of the Papists was irksome to Puritans, and they began to avow their aversion to the Oath of Allegiance imposed upon them.(2)

The Commonwealth.- During the period of the Commonwealth Puritanism gained the ascendancy under their leader Richard Bennett, who was elected the first governor. It is very probable that a number of Dissenters came to Virginia during this time, but we have no reliable records of it. We do know that a few Irish came yearly,(3) and it is likely that at least some of those sweating under the Oath of Allegiance in Maryland returned to their old homes.

(1) Ibid.

(2) American Presbyterianism, Briggs, 110 (foot note); History of Virginia, Campbell, 212-5.

(3) Ibid.

Letter to Mr. Moore.-- In 1656 we find an interesting document among the old records of Norfolk County--a letter sent to Mr. Moore, a minister of New England, which is as follows: (1)

"Mr. Moore.-- Sir, after salute please take notice that we are informed by Capt. Fran: Emperor that at his being at the Mannadus hee treated with you concerning your coming over hither amongst us, and that you were unwilling to come at such uncertainties or without the knowledge or good likings of those you were to come amongst; and further that you weare pleased to promise him not otherwise to dispose of yourselfe till you heard from him. Therefore wee underwritten in behalf of the whole, gladly embracing such an opportunity, do engage ourselves that upon your arrivall here for the maintenance of yourselfe and family to allow unto you the yearly quantity of tobacco and corn, and also to provide for your present entertainment upon arrivall and convenient habitation and continuance amongst us, to the content of yourselfe and credit of us, upon whom at our invitation you have throwne yourselfe, and for the transportation of yourselfe and family wee have taken full and sufficient course with Capt. Rich: Whiting, and to these promises we underwritten have subscribed."

We do not know whether Mr. Moore accepted this invitation or not, "but," Dr. Mack says, "this unique letter does prove that the Norfolk Puritans of 1656 had freedom to call a minister of their own faith and means to support him." (2)

Gov. Bennett.-- We may count it certain that Gov. Richard Bennett, the first Governor of the Commonwealth, watched over and nourished the church, in whose behalf he had suffered persecution and exile, until his death in 1675. (3)

To some extent these early Puritans were scattered throughout the colony, but because of the poorness of the tobacco, the Episcopal clergy would not stay in some sections. Nansemond County and vicinity was such, and it became the

(1) Norfolk County Records, Given in the Early Va. Puritans, Mack, 410-411. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

great center of the Puritan Presbyterian Dissenters, and was most influential in propagating their views.(1) Since there were no Established clergy, the Puritans likely used their churches for a number of years. Accomac County on the Eastern Shore, may also have had Puritan settlers along about this time. These detached parts of Virginia from the beginning were an exception from the general character of persecuting Virginia, affording a refuge from danger and oppression. Nine years after the death of Gov. Bennett, Makemie was preaching in this vicinity, and it was doubtless upon the foundation thus laid, that Makemie's great success was based.

2. Persecution.

Attitude of English Government.— The Established Church in Virginia was not, at first, much concerned about uniformity. Large freedom was encouraged, as we have seen, by the London Company. After 1624 when the government took immediate oversight of the colony great broadmindedness was shown toward religious differences. The instructions given to Gov. Berkley, which he brought back with him in the fall of 1662, it is supposed, represent fairly the attitude of the English Government prior to the accession of William and Mary in 1688.(2) They are in part: (3)

"And because we are willing to give all possible encouragement to persons of different persuasions in matters of religion to transport themselves thither with their stocks, you are not to suffer any man to be molested, or disquieted in the exercise of his religion, so he be content with a

(1) Present State of Virginia, Jones, 106.

(2) Virginia Presbyterianism and Rel. Lib., Johnson, 11.

(3) Ibid.; Hist. of Va., Campbell, 257; Va. Carolorum, Neill, 292.

quiet and peaceful enjoying it, not giving therein offence or scandal to the government: but we oblige you in your own house and family to the profession of the Protestant religion, according as it is now established in our Kingdom of England, and the recommending it to all others under your government, as far as it may consist with the peace and quiet of our said colony."

Attitude of Colonial Legislature.— However, the majority in the Colonial Legislature took a much more narrow course. For a long period Virginia rivalled the mother country in the hardships bestowed upon Dissenters. The Established church was exclusively tolerated and sustained by law, and every form of dissent was accounted obnoxious. For three-quarters of a century it was suppressed by the most rigid laws, and for another three-quarters of century it was at best but barely tolerated.(1)

Early Laws Against Dissenters.— In the year 1624, the House of Burgesses enacted the following statute: (2)

Act 3rd, "That there be an uniformity in our church as neere as may be to the canons in England, both in substance and circumstances, and that all persons yield readie obedience to them under paine of censure."

Similar laws, but more severe, were passed in 1631 and 1632.(3) In 1634 a band of men were driven from Virginia for their religious opinions.(4)

Gov. Berkley.— However, no great rigor of persecution was undertaken until 1642, when Sir Wm. Berkley became Governor. Whether he was directly responsible or not, he was in full sympathy with it, and it was not until sometime after his

(1) History Presbyn. Church in U.S., Gillett, I, 7.

(2) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 28.

(3) Virginia Presby'sm and Rel.Liberty, Johnson, 12.

(4) Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 203.

death in 1677 that dissenters were able to live with any peace in Virginia.(1)

Act of Uniformity.- In 1642 the Act of Uniformity was made very severe on ministers. It is as follows: (2)

"Ffor the preservation of the puritie of doctrine and unitie of the church, it is enacted that all ministers whatsoever which reside in the colony are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and the laws therein established, and not otherwise to be admitted to teach or preach publicly, And that the Governor and Counsel do take care that all nonconformists upon notice of them shall be compelled to depart the collony with all convenience."

Enforcement of These Laws.- These laws were evidently in force all the time, but it seems that they were not so strictly adhered to only at times when fresh news of the dissenters and their growth reached the Governor and Council. We have seen that in 1648 Mr. Harrison and a number of other dissenters were forced to leave--some going to Maryland, and others to New England.

Laws Sharpened.- On the restoration of Charles II in 1660, enactments against dissent were sharpened. A tax was levied on everyone for its support. All non-conformists were forbidden to teach. The form set in the Prayer Book must be used at every marriage.(3) In 1662, the year that the Act of Uniformity was passed, and the Church of England became a thorough-going Episcopal Church, the House of Burgesses, influenced by Gov. Berkley and his Council, passed laws calling for more severity against all dissenters and separatists. (4)

(1) Virginia Presby'sm and Rel. Liberty, Johnson, 12.

(2) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 29; Presbyterians, Hays, 26.

(3) Colonial Era in America, Fisher, 49.

(4) Va., A Hist. of the People, Cocke, 33-35; See Sketches of Va. Foote, I, 35-36.

And so we might go on with the dreadful story. These former Virginians could not bear the Puritan intruders. They persecuted them without mercy, and would have them go to prison, or out of the country. These honest people thought it was their duty to check the spread of^a creed which they believed to be false; that the true faith and worship were so unspeakably important that they ought to be protected by force.(1)

(1) Virginia, A History of the People, Cooke, 174.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter III

THE ELIZABETH RIVER CHURCH

We have seen in the previous chapter something of the labors of ministers in the vicinity of Nansemond River who were undoubtedly of the Puritan faith, and most likely Presbyterian, though Presbyterianism as yet was unorganized. Of these ministers we have named Robert Bolton, William Bennett, Henry Jacob, Mr. Lathrop, Richard Bennett, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Thompson, Thomas James, and Thomas Harrison, and possibly Mr. Moore. Our next record is a letter written at Elizabeth River, Virginia, by Francis Makemie in 1684, in which he speaks of "lower Norfolk County, who had a dissenting minister formerly from Ireland untill the Lord was pleased to remove him by death in August last." (1)

REV. JAMES PORTER.- Makemie does not tell us the name of this "dissenting minister," and there has been much speculation about his identity. However, Dr. Edward Mack found the solution of the mystery in the old Records of Norfolk County, and gives his name as James Porter. A marriage contract "was fully, firmly, and freely concluded" between James Porter, minister of Lynhaven, and Mary Ivy, daughter of Captain Thomas Ivy, August 14, 1678. Mary was the sister

(1) For full letter and references see Appendix

County, Rev. Josias Mackie was the son of Patrick Mackie, of St. Johnstone, Donegal County, Ireland.(1) There is no record of the date of his birth. The earliest authentic record of him is in connection with his being licensed to preach on Elizabeth River in Virginia. He is the first dissenting minister to take advantage of the Act of Toleration in the State. Makemie did not receive his license to preach in Virginia until 1699. June 22, 1692, Josias Mackie took the three oaths, duly preserved in the County records, stating his fidelity to the British Crown; renouncing all connection with the Roman Catholic Church; declaring his approbation according to law of the Articles of Religion, ~~with~~ the exceptions allowed dissenters; and promising faithful allegiance to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary,--and received permission to preach at the house of Richard Phillpot in Tanner's Creek precinct, the house of Thomas Ivy on the Eastern Branch, and the house of John Roberts on the Western Branch.(2)

In 1693 he was discouraged and thought of returning to Ireland, but finally resolved to remain. Nov. 18, 1696, another place of meeting was granted at John Dickson's on the Southern Branch. To these four points the present city of Norfolk, which was not regularly established as a town until October 1705, is about central. As is common in such circumstances, these several places were all united in one

(1) Annals of Amer. Pulpit, Sprague, III, 5-9; Also Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 118.

(2) Ibid. Sprague, III, 6-7; and Briggs, 119.

church organization, as is shown by their being spoken of as "one small congregation on Elizabeth River," in the letter of Philadelphia Presbytery to Dublin Presbytery in 1710.(1)

Mr. Mackie seems also to have been a planter and merchant, as well as a successful stock raiser. He owned a valuable library also, which facts we gather from his will. He was unmarried, and remained the Pastor at Elizabeth River until his death, which occurred between Nov. 7 and 16, 1716,--the latter being the date his will was proved. The residuary legatees were the children of three sisters in Ireland. For nearly a quarter of a century, then, he lived on Elizabeth River. But the only mention of him in the minutes of Philadelphia Presbytery is for September 22, 1712, when his "melancholy circumstances" were made mention of and the sympathy of the Presbytery expressed for him. "It is certain that he was a good man, a true Presbyterian--bold, active, and laborious," regardless of his health or other adverse conditions.(2)

REV. BENJAMIN PORTER GRIGSBY.-- After the death of Mackie in 1716 the curtain falls on the Elizabeth River Church for seventy-two years, during which time we can find no records of it, and it was not until 1788 that the curtain was raised again. We find in the minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia for May 26, 1788 the following record: (3)

(1) The Church on Eliz. River, Armstrong, 13-15; History of the Pres. Church, Hodge, 76; Records Philadelphia Pres., September 1710, p. 18.

(2) The Church on Eliz. River, Armstrong, 15; Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, Sprague, III, 6-7; Records Philadelphia Presbytery, Sept. 22, 1712, p. 26.

(3) Records Synod of N.Y. & Phila., May 26, 1788, p. 545.

"A petition from the inhabitants of Norfolk in Virginia, of the Presbyterian persuasion, was presented and read, praying the Synod to take them under their care, and to appoint a minister of their body to supply them for one year, for which they promise to pay him one hundred and thirty pounds, specie, Virginia currency, to defray the necessary expences of his journey, and to make everything as agreeable to him as their circumstances will admit. In answer to which the Synod order Dr. Witherspoon, to recommend to Mr. Muir, a member of New Brunswick Presbytery, to repair to Norfolk as soon as convenient, and to supply that people agreeably to their request."

We do not know whether James Muir visited Norfolk or not, but the fact that the church was so strong at this time after so many years of silence, leads us to think with more certainty that there was a continuous organization here from the time of Mackie.

In 1792 Rev. B. P. Grigsby visited Norfolk on a missionary tour, and possibly remained for several months. Such a tour is spoken of in the minutes of Hanover Presbytery, and in a letter from Hugh Blair Grigsby, his son, to John Whitehead.(1)

Mr. Grigsby, son of James Grigsby, was born in Orange County, Virginia, Sept. 18, 1770. At an early age his parents removed to what is now Rockbridge County, and he received his education at Liberty Hall Academy. He was licensed by Lexington Presbytery April 28, 1792, and, as we have seen above, visited Norfolk Church the same year. By appointment of the General Assembly of 1801, he again "itinerated through the lower parts of Virginia," and visited Norfolk Church. He preached to the satisfaction of the people and "was unanimously invited to remain as pastor," at a meeting of the

(1) First Pres. Ch. of Norfolk, Sketch of Pastors of, 26; The Church on Eliz. River, Armstrong, 21.

congregation held March 17, 1804. He accepted this call and was their beloved pastor until his sudden death in 1810 caused by yellow fever caught at the funeral of a sailor who had died of this disease.(1)

The Brick Church.- Just Prior to Mr. Grigsby's coming, a brick church was built, which is still standing on the corner of Bank and Charlotte streets, now known as Bell Church. The movement for this church was started early in 1800 and subscriptions secured. April 15, 1800 the subscribers held their first meeting, and the building was begun at once. It was erected of Brick at a cost of a little over \$12,000, all of which was subscribed by persons living in Norfolk or its immediate vicinity.(2)

It is interesting to note that the church does not come into regular ecclesiastical communion with East Hanover Presbytery until four years after the death of Grigsby. Like the old churches of Charleston and Savannah, and other sea-board cities, trading directly with the mother country, it seems to have been organized on Presbyterian principles as an Independent church, and to have maintained that position until 1814. There are no sessional records prior to this year, 1814, but afterwards they are continuous and complete.(3)

CONTINUATION IN NORFOLK CHURCHES.- But now the question may be asked: Is the Norfolk Church a continuation of the

(1) First Pres. Ch. of Norfolk, Sketch of Pastors, 26-7.

(2) The Church on Eliz. River, Armstrong, 15-16.

(3) Ibid. 20.

old Elizabeth River Church of Mackie's time?

1. This question should be answered in the affirmative regardless of the absence of all records concerning the church for nearly three-quarters of a century. It is difficult for us in our day to realize the condition of things here during the years intervening between 1716 and 1788; but in this all will agree, that the continued existence of a Presbyterian church throughout these years, without sessional records should cause us no surprise, when such records, had they fallen into the hands of an enemy, would have furnished evidence upon which every person therein named might be fined, imprisoned, or driven from his home.(1)

During all these years dissenters were subject to severe persecution in Virginia, especially in the eastern portion of the State. We have seen something of the intolerance of the Established Church and the Government in a previous chapter down to about the time of Makemie. But this persecution continued at intervals to about 1774 in various counties.(2) It was a reproduction of the monstrous proceedings in the mother country. And it was not until after the Revolutionary War that religious persecution ceased.

2. That the Norfolk church is a continuation of the old Elizabeth River Church is further shown by the fact that the composition of its members according to their nationality is the same with that of old Elizabeth River. That church

(1) Ibid.

(2) Struggle for Rel. Freedom in Va., Thom, 21-3; Struggle for Rel. Liberty, James, 29-34, 210-217; See chapters on "Persecution of Dissenters" and "Religious Freedom."

could not have been a Scotch colony, as Dr. Hodge supposes possible. Ivey and Phillpot are certainly English names, whatever may be said of Roberts, Dickson and others. The names of the subscribers to the church building in 1800 were many of Scotch-Irish extraction, yet a large number were English and belonged to some of the oldest families in this part of the State. In this particular, the composition of the congregation was similar to that of the old Elizabeth River Church, as is indicated by the name of the men at whose houses Mackie was licensed to preach.(1) It is not likely that this was coincidental, and it is far easier to believe that the Norfolk Church was a continuation of the old Elizabeth River Church, than to believe that people of the same name should move back to this particular church almost one hundred years later.

3. Again, since they were strong enough in 1788 to petition the Synod of New York and Philadelphia for a minister promising to pay him 130 pounds, and in 1800 were strong enough to subscribe \$12,000 for a new church building, which was paid and the building erected, and also strong enough to secure the full time pastoral services of Rev. B.P.Grigsby in 1804, all of which we have seen more fully above; it does not seem reasonable to make any other supposition than that the Present First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk is a continuation of the old Church on Elizabeth River.

(1) The Church on Elizabeth River, Armstrong, 21-22.

4. Besides all this evidence it would seem strange that the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, with the five other churches which have been formed from it since the beginning of the nineteenth century, should occupy the same position, cover the exact territory, and be the same kind of an organization as that of the Elizabeth River Church at the time of Mackie's death in 1716, and not be a continuation of that church.(1) "The odds seem to be with us--the odds are with us."

"According to this view," Mr. Armstrong says, "the course of this church is not unlike that of one of the sinking rivers, as they are called, found in limestone regions, which after running the first part of its course like other rivers, suddenly disappears, and then miles away, as suddenly reappears, bursting up out of the earth as a bold spring, ready at once to do a river's work; its identity being determined by its general course, the character of its waters, and the boldness of the spring which forms its second fountain-head." (2)

In the presence of all these facts, it seems to be plain that the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk is a continuation of the old Presbyterian Church on Elizabeth River, and that it is not only the oldest Presbyterian Church in Virginia, but the oldest within the bounds of our Southern Presbyterian Church.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM
IN VIRGINIA

Chapter IV

FRANCIS MAKEMIE

"Yes, he comes with helmet on him
And with Gospel sandals shod;
Our Makemie, brave Makemie,
Hail, O Messenger of God!" (1)

Ministers Just Preceding Makemie.- Preceding Makemie there were other ministers who helped to lay the foundation of Presbyterianism. Among these was Francis Doughty, the Presbyterian minister who fled from New York in 1657 to Maryland, where his brother-in-law, Capt. Wm. Stone, was governor. He preached here and there to little flocks in both Maryland and Virginia, which were gathered into the Presbyterian Church in later years when it was organized into Presbyteries and Synods. Driven from one place by intolerance and persecution, he fled to another. He carried on his master's work in spite of difficulties of every kind. It is probable that he ministered to the Puritans who had been exiled from Virginia by the intolerance of Gov. Berkley. He has been called "The Apostle of Presbyterianism in America." His labors, which carried him across the Potomac into Virginia, were in the section called the Northern Neck, between the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers. He preached in Setlingbourne Parish in Virginia, and was complained of

(1) Makemieland Memorials, Bowen, 13.

to the Governor for refusing to allow John Catlett and Humphrey Boote "to communicate in the blessed ordinance of the Lord's Supper," and was charged with being a non-conformist.⁽¹⁾

After Doughty's death, his work was carried on by Matthew Hill, who, through the influence of Richard Baxter, removed to Charles County, Maryland, whence a large portion of the refugees had fled from Nansemond County in Virginia. It is most likely that he continued to preach to the small groups on the Virginia side as had his predecessor. He labored in this section for some years until his death in 1679.⁽²⁾ However, there is no record of either organizing churches in Maryland or Virginia, but to these two worthies, the Presbyterian church in the Middle States is largely indebted for its earliest planting.

1. Introductory Remarks

We now come to one who has played a greater part, not only in Virginia Presbyterianism, but the Presbyterianism of all America, than any other single man. This was Francis Makemie. As Francis Doughty has been called "The Apostle of Presbyterianism in America," so Francis Makemie may be called "The Father of Presbyterianism in America." And it is no little honor to Virginia that one who has meant so much to the religious life in all America, should have chosen Virginia as his home, and spent most of the years of his ministerial

(1) Notes on Va. Col. Clergy, Neill, Given in Amer. Presb'm, Briggs, 111; Early Presb'm in Md., McIlwain, 8-9.

(2) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 113; Early Presby'sm in Md, McIlwain, 9-11.

labors within its bounds. However, on account of the religious persecutions, during and after the time of Makemie, the immediate results of his work are not any more visible in Virginia than in some other sections. In fact, on account of this religious intolerance in Virginia, one church gathered by his labors in Accomac--that of Rehoboth--was moved across the line in Maryland where it is to this day.(1)

During this rather short ministry of twenty-five years, Makemie succeeded in gathering together churches in Barbadoes, in the West Indies, in Maryland, in Accomac County, Va., and perhaps also in Westmoreland County, Va. Besides this he served the church on Elizabeth River for some years.(2)

Makemie's Writings.-- There is only a single sermon, seven letters, and but four other articles, including his will, from his own hand in existence. No biographical sketch, drawn by a contemporary has given a connected history of his services. "What remains of him is like the ruins of an ancient temple, that awakens admiration by the beauty of the fragments, and the symmetry of the particular parts, while the uniqueness of the sculpture almost forbids an imagination of the grandeur of the whole." Besides what is mentioned above there are only a few meager notices preserved in the records of Ecclesiastical bodies. We are left to suppose that he had his share of the troubles and joys of life, in his person and his family; that he knew the perplexities

(1) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 118; Hist. Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 126.

(2) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 40.

and excitements of the ministerial race, and came to his end with hope triumphant over the fears, and troubles, and doubts, which beset the human soul in his course of purification for heaven. Makemie was called to pass through scenes of trial and perplexity, such as cannot be the lot of the present generation, and acquitted himself with honor. He maintained the rights of conscience, as were very imperfectly acknowledged by the English law, and established the great truth, that it was no crime against the State, or known law, for him to preach the Gospel to those who desired to hear, and avowed that desire to the magistrates. Samuel Davies followed his example, and the bar said he was a "capital lawyer spoiled." (1)

His Portrait.— From a daughter of Dr. Balch, who had seen Makemie's picture in her father's home before it was destroyed by fire, we learn something of his personal appearance. She tells us that he was very attractive, with an intellectual forehead crowned with brown locks of hair, that he had a fair complexion, expressive blue eyes, and over all, the mien of a true Irish gentleman. (2)

His Name.— Has been spelt in several different ways, for example: "Mackamy," "Mackamie," "McKemie," "Mckemy," "Mackemy." The latter two spellings both occur in the minutes of Laggan Presbytery. But as he signed his name to his personal letters, and as appears from the records of Accomac Court in Virginia, the spelling should be "Makemie."

(1) Ibid. 40-41; (2) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 80.

2. Early Days of Makemie.

Birth.— Makemie was born and raised in the neighborhood of Ramilton, Donegal County, Ireland,(1) This indicates that he belonged to that race called the "Scotch-Irish" which first emigrated from Scotland to Ireland, and thence to America.

Preparation.— He was won to Christ as a lad of fifteen, and received part of his education from the University of Glasgow. One record states that he was enrolled as a student there in the third class, February, 1675(6). (2)

Under Care of Presbytery.— The minutes of the Presbytery of Laggan, Ireland, give account of Makemie's preparatory work leading up to his licensure and ordination, as follows:(3)

"St. Johnstown, Jan 28, 1680.— Mr. Francis Mckemy comes with a recommendation from Mr. Thomas Drummond to the Meeting. Messrs. John Hart and Robert Rule are appointed to speak privately to him and inquire into his reading and progress in his studies."

"St. Johnstown, May 20, 1680.— The meeting appoint Messrs. Robt. Campbell and Wm. Liston to speak to Francis Mckemy and Alex. Marshall and to inquire about their studies and encourage them in these and to make report to the meeting."

"St. Johnstown, July 7, 1680.— Mr. Francis Mckemy and Alex. Marshall are recommended to the brethren that are to be at Raigg communion, to speak to them about their studies and knowledge in the body of Divinity; and also the brethren are to call them to account afterwards from time to time until they be satisfied and clear to present the business to the meeting."

"St. Johnstown, Aug. 11, 1680.— Messrs. Thomas Drummond and Wm. Liston to do the like to (i.e. take some inspection and oversight of) Mr. Francis Mckemy."

"Sept. 29, 1680.— Mr. Wm. Liston reports that Mr. Francis Mckemy desires some more time and that he is diligent."

"Dec. 29, 1680.— Col. Stevens from Maryland beside Virginia, his desire of a godly minister is presented to us. The Meeting will consider it seriously and do what they can in

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 41.

(2) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, Appendix, xliv.

(3) Ibid.; The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 514-516.

it. Mr. John Heart is to write to Mr. William Keyes about this, and Mr. Robt. Rule to the M'gs of Route and Tyrone, and Mr. Wm. Trail to the Meetings of Down and Antrim."

"Mr. John Heart, R. Campbell and Wm. Liston are appointed to meet together and to try and examine the progress of Messrs. Alex. Marshall and Francis Mackemy in their studies, and if they find them fit to be presented to the meeting for trials, that they then desire the young men to be at their next meeting."

"St. Johnstown, March 9, 1681.- Upon the good report we get of Mr. Francis Mackemy and Mr. Alex. Marshall the Mg think fit to put them upon trials in order to their being licensed to preach, and they name I Tim. 1:5 to F.M. and Titus 2:11 to A.M. as texts for their private homilies."

"St. Johnstown, April 20, 1681.- Francis Mackemy delivered his homily upon I Tim. 1:5, and was approved. The Meeting appoint Math. 11:28 to Mr. Francis Mackemy for the next meeting; and also the common-head De Antichristo."

"St. Johnstown, May 25, 1681.- Mr. Francis Mackemy delivered his private homily on Mat. 11:20, and is approven. Both he and Mr. Alex. Marshall are to give in their theses (which they do), and at the next meeting they are to have their common-head and are to sustain their disputes."

"July 31, 1681.- The Meeting see fit to lay aside their ordinary business at this extraordinary meeting, only we will, if time permit, hear the exegeses of the young men who are upon trials."

There is a blank in the minutes here which continues until Dec. 30, 1690, caused by the imprisonment of the Stated Clerk and some other members, who were fined, imprisoned for months, and then had to give security for good behavior, for merely the crime of holding a fast on account of the peculiar situation of the country.(1)

Licensure and Ordination.- On account of this blank in the minutes nothing is known of the date of Makemie's licensure, which was probably in the fall of 1681; or his ordination, which was sometime in 1682; or the circumstances under which he left the country. The last mention of him in

(1) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, Appendix, xlv; Also the Days of Makemie, Bowen, 516.

Ireland is a record of his preaching for Mr. Hempton, in Burt, April 2, 1682. (1)

Makemie, himself, gives an account of his ordination and also his conversion, "Ere I received the imposition of hands in that scriptural and orderly separation unto my holy and ministerial calling, that I gave requiring satisfaction to godly, learned and judicious discerning men, of a work of grace and conversion wrought in my heart at fifteen years of age, by and from the pains of a godly school-master, who used no small diligence in gaining tender souls to God's service and fear." (2)

Circumstantial Preparation.— Makemie must have been fitted in native talent and culture for his work in America. Nor could he have been ignorant of the dangers he was facing in entering upon such a calling. As a boy his heart must have been stirred by stories of the hardships of God's heroic ministry. No doubt he had been told about the noble sixty-one of the Province of Ulster, thirteen of them of the Presbytery of Laggan, who in 1661 refused to enslave their consciences to the demands of the tyrant Church, and were ejected from their places, forbidden to baptize or preach and driven forth from their livings to penury and want. Thomas Drummond, pastor in Ramelton, was among them. He must have witnessed the flames in which the Solemn League and Covenant

(1) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, Appendix, xlv; Days of Makemie, Bowen, 61; Also Hist. Presby. Church in Ireland, Reid, II, 567, 570, 342.

(2) Answer to Keith's Libel, Makemie, 24; Also given in American Presby'sm, Briggs, Appendix, xlv.

was burned that summer by act of Parliament in all the cities and towns through the kingdom. In the year 1664, still but a boy, he must have known of the excommunication, arrest and imprisonment at Lifford of four godly ministers for six dreary years, one of whom was his own pastor, Drummond. (1)

Later in 1675 in the University of Glasgow his studies were pursued among scenes even more sad and terrible. That year garrisons were placed all over the land in the houses of Presbyterians for the suppression of God's worship. Orders were issued forbidding all persons, under severest penalties, to supply the necessities of life to the proscribed, or to hold any communication with them--even fathers and mothers or wives or husbands to be treated as felons and traitors if they gave food or shelter or a word of comfort to any loved one under the ban of the oppressor. (2) Yes, the young man, Makemie knew well what he was braving when he appeared upon the floor of Presbytery Jan. 28, 1680, and asked to be received under their care as a probationer for the Gospel ministry. (3) His pastor, Thomas Trummond, the unyielding prisoner of six years, who recommended the youthful probationer must have known that he was well fitted for troublous times. (4)

3. Makemie Comes to America

For several years calls had been coming to the Presbytery of Laggan for ministers. In 1678 Captain Archibald Johnson

(1) Hist. Presby'n Church in Ireland, Reid, II, 226ff.
(2) Ibid. 303. (3) Ibid. 342.
(4) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 48-50.

made application to that body for assistance in procuring a minister for Barbadoes. In December 1680 Col. Wm. Stevens of Rehoboth, Maryland, near Virginia, applied to them for a minister to settle in that colony.(1) In consequence Francis Makemie was ordained as an Evangelist to America, and sent out about the year 1683.(2) This was before any society, of which we have any knowledge, was formed in England to assist Evangelists in their preparation, locating, or support in America. By what pecuniary means he entered the ministry or crossed the ocean, we cannot say. It is very probable that he bore his own expenses.

4. Work on Elizabeth River.

It is most likely that Makemie went first to Maryland where Wm. Traill, the leading member of his Presbytery, had come the year before.(3) However, he did not remain there very long, but decided to settle on Ashley River, S.C., whence a Puritan minister, Thomas Barrett, was about to return to Boston. On his way to South Carolina by sea, he stopped at Lynnhaven, on the Elizabeth River, and preached a while there. In May, 1684 he set sail again for Ashley River, but God had different plans for him, the boat was driven by contrary winds and compelled again to seek refuge on Elizabeth River. Because of the importunities of the people he decided to remain with them, at least, for a time.(4)

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 42.

(2) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 116; Makemieland Memorials, Bowe, Fly-leaf page.

(3) Traill only remained several years, returning at the Revolution. See Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 115; and Days of Makemie, Bowen, 523. (4) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 116.

This was in the summer of 1684, whence July 22nd, he wrote a letter to Increase Mather at Boston, an extract from which was quoted in the preceding chapter, concerning a dissenting minister from Ireland who had died the previous August.(1)

A second letter was sent to Increase Mather from Elizabeth River, July 28, 1685.(2) This seems to show that he had given up his intentions of settling on Ashley River, S.C., and remained on Elizabeth River. He also seems to have made his home or headquarters on the Eastern Branch of Elizabeth River until at least 1689, though he may have spent some of his time each in Accomac and the Barbadoes. This probability is augmented by the fact that he owned a house and lot "at the new towne in Princess Anne County, on the Eastern Branch of the Elizabeth River." He speaks of the disposition of this house in his will.(3) It is very possible that he kept the people at Elizabeth River under his charge until he succeeded in getting Josias Mackie to be their pastor, though he may have been absent for several months at a time, especially towards the last, on preaching tours.

Quick Trip Back Home.— Mr. Briggs tells us that Makemie made a quick trip to London in 1691 and returned early in 1692.(4) If this is correct, it was very likely during this trip that he secured the services of Josias Mackie, who was from Makemie's home county in Ireland, for the Elizabeth

(1) For Entire Letter see Appendix

(2) Ibid.

(3) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 57.

(4) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 117. This is the only mention of a trip at this time to the old country the writer can find, and since Mr. Briggs does not give his source, it is not sure.

River Church, and he may have brought Mackie back with him.

Merchant as well as Preacher.— Makemie is a singular instance of a man engaging in the work of a merchant as well as that of an Evangelist, combining the merchantile pursuits with that of preaching the Gospel, and prospering in both. Like Paul, he labored that he might preach the Gospel where a competent support for a minister could not be obtained from the people, and God blessed him in his ministry and his business.(1)

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 47; Also American Presbyterianism, Briggs, 117.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter V

FRANCIS MAKEMIE (Cont.)

5. Removal to the Eastern Shore.

Makemie very likely removed to the Eastern Shore of Virginia sometime in 1689, perhaps because he heard of Wm. Traill's returning to Europe, and feeling that the work on Elizabeth River could spare him with an occasional visit. The first mention of his name on the records of Accomac County, Va., bears date Feb. 17, 1690, and is concerning a suit by him to recover from Wm. Finney the amount due him for molasses sold. He also had other suits in the same court to recover debts from careless or unjust debtors.(1) By 1690 his business had grown so rapidly that he had extended it to include West India Trade.(2) Feb. 21, 1692 a certificate for 450 acres of land was granted Makemie by the Accomac Court.(3) In this same year, he made a brief visit to Pennsylvania.(4)

Conflict with Keith.- In 1691 George Keith, an itinerant Quaker, visited Makemie in his home and disputed with him about a Catechism published by Makemie, which antagonized

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 43.

(2) American Presby'sm, Briggs, footnote, 117.

(3) Hist. American Presby'sm, Hill, 130.

(4) American Presby'sm, Briggs, 118.

many of the Quaker principles.(1) Keith urged a public disputation, but Makemie declined on the ground that it would be unprofitable, and challenged Keith to oppose his Catechism in writing. Keith had already done this, however, he neither told Makemie nor gave him the document, but left it "in the hands of a George Layfield, at Rehoboth in Pocomock." (2) Makemie gave a strong answer to this which was published in 1693 under the title, "An Answer to George Keith's Libel Against a Catechism," in which he attacked the Quakers and defended his own faith. This may have had something to do with Keith's later forsaking the Quakers for the Episcopal Church. This answer, however, was not given immediately because of his health. July 26, 1692, in the preface of his Answer to Keith, he says, "If any should censure me for my tediousness in answering, I had finished it a year ago, but by reason of my tedious affliction not transcribed until now." Makemie's account of this whole affair is given in his own words: (3)

"I had a visit from Keith at my house in Virginia, which though promised and intimated by his harbinger to be on Friday, was not performed until Saturday in the afternoon; and by the uncertainty of his coming, was prevented of having any of my friends present, though some dropped in occasionally. At which time we had several charges and questions concerning several things which were too tedious to rehearse. But I wish they had been recorded then to prevent many misrepresentations spread abroad by that party. And though there was no real debate, and he oft told me he came not to dispute with me, yet soon after they boasted of a victory. Yet after more discourse, he impudently charged me as a false teacher, and challenged me to a public debate before the multitude; which I scorned with a sharp retorsion, and that for the following reasons:

(1) This Catechism has never been discovered, though diligently searched for.

(2) American Presby'sm, Briggs, 117.

(3) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 198-199.

"First, Their principles were unknown, because never unanimously agreed upon nor fairly published to the world; therefore not to be disputed with in words. Second, We would dispute before an ignorant and illiterate multitude who would be most incompetent judges. Third, Because he would run into learning and I must follow, and so what should be delivered would not tend to their edification but fall to the ground and be lost.

"But afterward I gave him a challenge to oppose my Catechism or principles in writing, and he should have an answer to every particular. Keith gave not the least intimation of the paper left behind him, though he dropped an expression which I understood not then, That he would write no more than he had done. This I took for declining my challenge.

"Now I leave it to all to determine whose challenge or overture was fairest. For, First, What either of us should deliver would be on record and we could not fly from it. Second, If the hearing a verbal debate in angry words should edify, much more a written debate read over. Third, Many might be judges of written debate who had no opportunity of hearing it disputed publicly."

6. Removal to Barbadoes.

Makemie does not remain long in Eastern Virginia or Maryland at this time, but about the fall of 1693 or 1694 removed to the Barbadoes, where he continued his business in trading, and was the pastor of a church several years, at least until the spring of 1698.(1) He declared on his trial

(1) The last tax assessment in the Accomac records against Makemie was in 1693. The uniform way in all the tax lists was the taxpayer's name and opposite it the number of titheables (servants), thus: "Francis Makemie.....3." However, this year the entry is different from all others, thus: "At Mr. Makemie's.....3." In the tax lists for 1694 and 1695 he is not mentioned at all. After 1695 no tax lists are put on record. (Days of Makemie, Bowen, 531)

This leaves the supposition that he was out of the County in 1693, and only his titheables living there. Certainly he was away the next two years or he would have been taxed. His name does not occur again on the Accomac records until Oct. 16, 1698, when it occurs in connection with Mr. Anderson's Will--at that time his Father-in-law. (Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 44) Perhaps he made his home in Maryland for a while. His Answer to Keith is dated, "At Rehoboth in Pocomok, Md., This 26 July 1692." A note given in 1693 to Mr. Makemie is

in New York that he had certificates according to law, both for Barbadoes and Virginia. He does not mention the date which was not called for. The Accomac records also mention his preaching in Barbadoes, but do not give the date. Long after the death of Makemie, the Presbytery and Synod of Philadelphia gave the congregation in Barbadoes their assistance, but their records make no mention of the time of his labors there. Nevertheless we do know something of the time of his work there by some letters. He writes a long letter from Barbadoes Dec. 28, 1696, which would lead us to believe he had been there a year or more. This letter was published in Edinburgh in 1699 under the Title: "Truths in a True Light, or A Pastoral Letter to the Reformed Protestants in Barbadoes." (1)

He also writes two letters from Barbadoes to Increase Mather--one Jan. 17, 1697(8), in which he speaks of his great and unexpected disappointment that Mr. Mather's son Samuel is not coming to Barbadoes, and endeavors to correct magnified views of sickness there. He also expresses his anxiety to leave, and states that he has been for two years prevented "from going off for my health, for want of supply." The other letter is dated Feb. 12, 1697(8), in which he mentions the above letter and requests him to "accept a small token of the product of our island." (2)

for corn to be delivered "at the mill at Rehoboth." None of these things are conclusive, but taken in connection with his apparent absence from Virginia, there is some probability in the supposition. (Days of Makemie, Bowen, 531)

(1) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, 118; Days of Makemie, Bowen, 534.

(2) Amer. Presby'sm, Briggs, Appendix, xlvii-xlix.

7. Back in Accomac.

His Marriage.— Makemie moved back to his plantation in Accomac County, Va., not later than the spring of 1692, and renews his acquaintances there, among whom, most likely, was Naomi, the oldest daughter of Wm. Anderson, a wealthy merchant of Accomac, and marries her sometime during the summer. Some writers think they were married before his going to Barbadoes, but the fact that they did not have any children when Mr. Anderson's will was made, and since he does not mention anything about his wife while in Barbadoes, it seems more logical to think they were married but a short time before her father's death. Naomi, at this time, was about thirty years old, according to an affidavit in the Accomac records, Dec. 3, 1717, when her age is given at "49 years or thereabouts." (1)

It is possible that Makemie, during his former residence in Accomac, occasioned partly by his interest in Naomi, had become a good friend of her father. As they were both interested in the same business, they seemed to cooperate with one another which gradually grew into a kind of business contract. This became more and more intimate until, at the time of Mr. Anderson's death, they were partners. Some of these facts are gathered from Mr. Anderson's will, which was written July 23, and probated Oct. 4, 1698, (2) and shows plainly that his heart was to the last inclining to Naomi

(1) Days of Makemie, Bowen, 513.

(2) Ibid. 299.

and her husband. Naomi and "Son Makemie" are the chosen and favorite representatives of the Anderson name and honor. As copied from the Accomac Records, the following items of his will are interesting here: (1)

"Item. I will and bequeath unto Mr. Francis Makemie and Naomie, his wife, my eldest daughter, all my lands at Matchatauk--being one thousand acres...--to the said Makemie and his wife, and the heirs of their or either of their bodies, lawfully begotten, forever....I also give unto said Makemie all the money lent him in full of all and any accounts that may be between us, upon consignments or any other ways; and my will is that he may have the sloop, with what may appertain to her, at my death; likewise, whatever my daughter can claim as hers in my house, &c., without let or delay at all.

"Item. I give unto the said Francis and Naomie his wife, all my plantation at Pocomoke, containing nine hundred and fifty acres, for and during their or either of their natural lives; in remainder, to the child or heir of my aforesaid daughter Naomie, if such she have, and its hereditary issue forever...My meaning is, that if my daughter Naomie should become mother of more than one child, then the most worthy of blood to have Pocomoke, and the next to have Machatauk...Nevertheless, it is my meaning, and provided, the said Makemies and the survivor of them if my daughter have no issue, shall keep the dwelling house in repair, and whatever useful houses worth preserving thereon, likewise orchards: neither remove nor dispose of the horse-mill, still, and copper, but them to remain, and pass with the freehold to my heirs aforesaid.

"Item, My lots, being three at Onacock town, I give unto Mr. Francis Makemie and heirs and assigns forever.

"Item. I give and bequeath to my daughter Naomie Makemie four negro slaves, viz: Dollar, Hannah the elder, Darkish, and Young Sarah.

"Item. I make, constitute, ordain, and appoint my son-in-law, Mr. Francis Makemie, to be my joint and several executors of this my last will and testament, desiring them to be kind and assisting to my wife." (This was his second wife, and not Naomie's mother).

Besides these Mr. Anderson made bequests to his wife, his daughter Comfort, three grand-daughters, several nephews, three sisters, and several others, including some widows who

(1) History of Amer. Presby. sm, Hill, 127-129.



are to be discharged from all debts to his estate.(1)

Intensified Church Activity.- After the death of his father-in-law, Makemie made his home on the Pocomoke plantation, and perhaps because his business was prospering, and he now possessed great wealth, he began to give himself more fully to the work of the church. From this time we hear less about his business in trade, and more about his business in the Kingdom. He begins to gather together the people to whom he had been preaching and brings them into church order. The people were scattered like sheep in the wilderness, and it took a large portion of his time to search them out.(2)

Organization of Churches.- About this time he organized the churches of Pocomoke (later moved across to Rehoboth in Maryland), and Onacock in Virginia, and Snowhill in Maryland.(3)

Rehoboth.- Irving Spence tells us that this was the oldest and most beloved of all the congregations organized by Makemie. It lay near the mouth of the Pocomoke on the Maryland side, and was nearer where Makemie had his residence than any of the congregations of Maryland. Its members lived on both sides of Pocomoke River, and some probably on the Virginia side of the state line. From the license obtained by Makemie from the Accomac Court in 1699, it would seem that his own dwelling house on Pocomoke, Va., which was one of

(1) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 300.

(2) History Pres. Church in U.S.A., Gillett, I, 5.

(3) Some historians claim that Rehoboth and Snowhill were organized much earlier--one claims 1884 for Snowhill--but the writer has been unable to find real evidence to support it. Snowhill was established as a town in 1884, but we have no record of a church there that early, though Wm. Traill may have preached for them even earlier. (Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 42-3)

the places at which he was licensed to preach, was probably the first place of worship used by that congregation. This proves that it was within the Virginia line. They may have had worship on both sides of the state line part of the time, but after Makemie's death the Virginia place was discontinued, probably because of the persecutions there, and Rehoboth in Maryland became the only permanent place of worship, where the church was later built.(1)

The Rev. Samuel McMasters, who for many years had been pastor of this church, wrote a history of it in which he says: "Mr. Makemie was the first pastor of Rehoboth, (in fact he died its Pastor, though then it went not by the name of Rehoboth, but Pocomoke). His successor was the Rev. John Henry, an Irish minister, who arrived about the time of, or shortly after, his death, and immediately succeeded him in Rehoboth, where he lived...Mr. Henry continued Pastor at Rehoboth until his death in 1717...His widow, who had been the wife of Col. Jenkins, married a third time, the Rev. John Hampton, pastor of Snow Hill. After this marriage, Mr. Hampton very likely divided his ministerial labors between Snow Hill and Rehoboth, as the residence and large possessions of his wife lay near the latter place."(2)

High Regard for Makemie.— Mr. Spence says: "I doubt whether the memory of any gospel minister was ever held in higher honour by an American congregation, than was that of

(1) Letters of the Early Hist. of the Pres.Ch., Spence, 95-99; Also found in Hist. Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 126.

(2) History Rehoboth Church, McMasters; Also found in Hist. Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 127.

Makemie by the people of Snow Hill. His praises have not yet left the church, although he has rested from his labors almost a hundred and thirty years. Tradition has made a record of his labours and many excellencies of his character; one generation has uttered his praises inthe ears of its successor, and you may even yet hear its echo. Parents made his surname the Christian name of their children, until in the neighborhood of Snow Hill it has become a common one. Information derived from aged lips, which it was once my pleasure to listen to, and my duty to honor, produces peculiar feelings whenever I hear the name of Francis Makemie."(1)

The name of Makemie is very common at various places on the Eastern shores of both Virginia and Maryland. It is frequently hidden under such perversions as "Kimma," etc. Dr. Bowen tells us: "In 1880 I was riding over the Makemie tract, south of the Matchatauk, when I met a Mr. Boggs, a descendant of our pioneer's nephew, who volunteered to take me across the creek to "talk traditions" with his mother. While speaking enthusiastically of 'old parson Makemie,' suddenly she pointed to a house within sight and said, 'Why, yonder within a month has been born a little girl whose name is Makemie.' Thus the name lives on."(2)

(1) Letters of the early Hist. of the Pres. Ch. in Amer., Spence, 81; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 43. The ancestor of whom Mr. Spence speaks, was Adam Spence, an emigrant from Scotland--"who had probably fixed his name to the Solemn League Covenant,"--and had settled at or near Snow Hill, as a merchant about the year 1680.

(2) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 535.

West of the Chesapeake.— Makemie must have also preached some on the west side of the Chesapeake Bay. At least he owned property there and must have visited in the section. In his will he speaks of "my house and lott or frame of house in the new towne on Wormlye's creek, called Urbana." (1) As far as we know Urbana never had a church. If they did it must have been moved across the river because of persecution. James Waddell passed some years of his most successful labors on the opposite of the Rappahannock.(2)

The Toleration Act.— In 1689 the famous Toleration Act, entitled, "An act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws," was passed by the English Parliament, influenced by William and Mary, as a reward to Protestant Dissenters for the part taken by them in the Revolution of 1688. It is too long to give here, but in brief,-- it gave those persons who would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe to a declaration against transubstantiation, permission to worship in their own meeting-houses, provided these houses were legally registered. Dissenting ministers were to be licensed to preach and administer the sacraments in these meetings-houses, on condition that they took the oaths, subscribed to the declaration, and signed the Thirty-nine Articles, with exception of those which refer to the constitution, forms, ceremonies, and claims of the national church.(3)

(1) Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 57. (2) Ibid.

(3) From Copy of Act, in Hist. Amer. Presby'ism, Hill, 216-221.

This Act did not at all abolish the establishment of the Episcopal Church of England, but it tied the hands, and restrained the powers of the high church persecuting party, and afforded some partial relief to the oppressed Dissenters. The relief was only partial, for Dissenters were still taxed to pay the salaries of the clergy of the Established Church, and all other incidental expenses attendant upon an extravagant and expensive form of worship, while they were still left under many galling disabilities, and subjected to many delays and expenses in qualifying themselves for the benefits of the Act, and getting their houses or places of worship licensed according to law; and after all this, had to support their own Ministers and mode of Worship in addition to all the rest. Yet this was a great relief to what they had been subjected before.(1)

During the first ten years after the passing of the Toleration Act, there is only a record of one Dissenting minister taking advantage of it^{in Virginia}, and that was Josias Mackie, June 22, 1692, which we have noticed in a previous chapter. However, the Uniformity of Worship was still being maintained throughout Virginia, and it is a matter of tradition that Makemie suffered often under these laws. Yet he says, that he "durst not deny preaching, and hoped he never should, while it was wanting, and desired."(2)

The Toleration Act in Virginia Laws.— The first mention of this Act in the laws of Virginia appears in the year 1699,

(1) Ibid.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 47,

ten years after its becoming the law of the British Dominions. When it does appear, it is very brief and its position and accompaniments are any thing but honorable to those to whom its provisions extend. Dissenters were classed with blasphemers, drunkards, and Sabbath breakers. It is found in Act 1st, 1699, entitled, "An Act for the suppressing of blasphemy, swearing, cursing, drunkenness, and Sabbath Breaking." After stating these offences and their penalties, the law goes on to say:(1)

"Provided always--that if any person or persons dissenting from the Church of England being every way qualified according to an act of Parliament made in the first year of the reigns of our sovereigne lord the King that now is, and the late Queen Mary of blessed memory, entitled and act for exempting their Majesties Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England from penaltyes of certain laws, shall resort and meet at any congregation or place of religious worship permitted and allowed by the said act of Parliament once in two months, that then the said penaltyes and forfeitures imposed by the act for neglecting or refusing to resort to their parish church or chappel as aforesaid shall not be taken to extend to such person or persons, any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

In this same year, 1699, an act was passed providing for a thorough revisal of the laws. In the preamble of this act, the province is styled "his Majestie's ancient and great colony and dominion." Foote says this was probably the origin of the phrase, "Ancient Dominion." In this revisal the 30th Act is for suppression of vice, etc. In the clause about Sabbath breaking, the time of absence from church was limited to "the space of one month." The proviso for dissenters was in a parenthesis, thus: "(excepting as is

(1) Ibid. 48-49.

excepted in an act of Parliament passed in the first year of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, An act for exempting their majesties' protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws)." The provisions of the Toleration are no where given in the statute book. It was left for the dissenters to find them when their protection became necessary.(1)

Makemie and The Toleration Act.— It is probable that this grudging and belittling Proviso, which appeared upon the statute book in April, 1699, was occasioned by Makemie, "who knew law." In defense of himself, Makemie appeared before the magistrates and the Governor, and tradition says made a favorable impression. We have historical evidence of his appearing before the magistrates in Maryland and the Court in New York, but only strong conjectural evidence, besides tradition, of his being called before legal tribunals in Virginia,(2) though Dr. Miller in his memoir of Rodgers states positively the arrest and trial of Makemie.(3) However, though Makemie had taken advantage of the Toleration Act in Barbadoes, he had not until 1699 received such license in Virginia, though he may have applied for it and been refused or put off from time to time. But in October 1699 he did comply with this act and obtained his license to preach in Virginia. The following records are to be found in the Accomac Court House:(4)

(1) Ibid. 49.

(2) Ibid. 48.

(3) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 535.

(4) Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 49-50.

"Accomack county, s.c. These may certify to all whom these presents may concern, That^m Francis Makemie, a dissenter and preacher in the aforesaid county of Accomack, hath, at a court held in the aforesaid county, October 5th 1699, performed and answered by taking the oaths, &c. enjoined by a certain act of Parliament, made the 24th day of May Anno Domini 1689, in the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, entitled an Act for exempting their Majesties' protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of sundry laws. And by his application to the Court, by petition, obtained order in October Court last, that his own house at Accomack town, and his dwelling house at Pocomoke, should be registered and recorded to be the first place of his constant and ordinary preaching. Which is attested, this 10th day of October, A.D. 1699.
Per me John Washburn, C.C.C. Accomack."

Again Oct. 15, 1699, we find this record:(1)

"Whereas Mr. Francis Makemie made application by petition to this Court, that being ready to fulfill what the law enjoynes to dissenters, that he might be qualified according to law, and prayed that his own dwelling house at Pocomoke, also his own house at Onocock, next to Capt. Jonathan Lively's, might be the places recorded for the Meeting, and having taken the oaths enjoined by act of parliament instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the Test, as likewise that he did in compliance with what the said law enjoynes, produce certificate from Barbadoes of his qualifications there, did declare in open court of the said county and owned the articles of religion mentioned in the statute made in the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and those words of the 20th article, viz.- 'the church hath power to decide rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.'- which the Court have ordered to be registered and recorded, and that the clerk of Court give certificate thereof to the said Makemie, according as the law enjoynes."

Poor Tobacco.- Beverley, the historian, tells us that "The people are generally of the Church of England, which is the religion established by law in the country, from which there are very few dissenters. Yet liberty of conscience is given to all other congregations pretending Christianity,

(1) Ibid. 50; Also given in History of American Presbyterianism, Hill, 130.

on condition they submit to all parish duties... 'Tis observed, that those counties where the Presbyterian meetings are, produce very mean tobacco, and for that reason can't get an orthodox minister to stay amongst them." (1) So it appears the clergy left some counties on account of the poorness of the tobacco, although in 1696 their salary had been fixed at sixteen thousand pound weight of that commodity. (2)

If this statement be true we can more easily understand why Makemie had not been more molested. While he was in Nansemond county there may have been no Episcopal minister to complain of him, in fact it is likely that he preached in the Established churches, and now that he is in Accomac, there may still be none to make complaint. Also Accomac County was a distant and detached territory, not easily accessible from the rest of Virginia at that time, and it is not likely that the laws against dissenters were very rigorously enforced there. It was to Accomac that Gov. Berkeley fled during Bacon's rebellion in 1676. (3) But Makemie's increasing popularity may have aroused hostility, and the consequence was the acknowledgment of the Toleration Act and his complete protection.

8. Growth of Makemie's Work.

Needs Assistants.— Regardless of all obstacles, Makemie was abundantly successful in his ministerial labors. His

(1) Given in Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 50-51.

(2) Ibid. 51.

(3) History of Va., Campbell, 299.

hearers and congregations multiplied until it was necessary for him to have assistance, and his thoughts turned to the mother country for ministers.

Voyage to Europe.- In the summer of 1703 Makemie prepared to go to England, and Aug 1st "executed a power of attorney to his wife Naomie Makemie and John Parker." For some reason these plans were frustrated, but again according to the Accomac Records, May 30, 1704, he "executed a power of attorney for his wife Naomie Makemie, Andrew Hamilton, and James Kemps, reciting that he was about to depart for Europe."⁽¹⁾

This voyage was made and occupied about a year. A warm-hearted man would very naturally desire, after a long absence, to visit his native land, and renew the associations of his early life, especially the surviving brethren of his old Presbytery. That he did visit London and make arrangements for the support of missionaries, and that he secured at least two ministers from his native land, are matters of fact on record. From a letter written by the Presbytery of Philadelphia to the Presbytery of Dublin, September 1710, we learn- "As to the state of the church in these parts, our interest truly is very weak, and we cannot relate this matter without sorrow of heart, since it is too much owing to the neglect of ministers at home. Our late Rev. brother Mr. Francis Makemie prevailed with the ministers of London to undertake the support of two itinerants for the space of two years, and after that time to send two more on the

(1) History Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 131.

same conditions, allowing the former after that time to settle, which if accomplished, had proved of more creditable advantage to those parts, considering how far scattered most of the inhabitants be. But alas they drew back their hand, and^w have reason to lament their deficiency. Had our friends at home been equally watchful and diligent as the Episcopal society at London, our interest in most foreign plantations might have carried the balance."(1) From this it would seem that the assistance of the ministers of London, and the Presbytery of Dublin was more occasional than systematic.

While in England Makemie was most likely the publisher of a little book called, "A Plain and Friendly Persuasive to the Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland for Promoting Towns and Cohabitation. By a Well-wisher to both Governments. London, Printed by John Humphreys, in Bartholomew's Lane. 1705."(2) Absent in body his heart was still in America.

Return with Assistants..- Makemie must have returned sometime during the summer of 1705, (3) and he either brought with him or occasioned their coming shortly afterwards, Rev. John Hampton and Rev. George McNish to be his fellow laborers. They are called "his assistants" in a letter by John Heath addressed to the Commissioners of Somerset

(1) Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 52.

(2) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 388.

(3) Though Makemie's name appears very often on the records of Accomac Court between 1699 and May 30, 1704, it does not again appear, except through his authorized attorney, until Dec. 5, 1705. Afterwards it appears frequently until his death. (Hist. Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 131.

county, Md. They applied Nov. 14, 1705 to the County Court of Somerset for license, and being put off, were not able to receive their license until June 12, 1706,(1) "whereupon this Court did allow that the aforesaid Hampton and McNish should preach at the meeting-house near Mr. Edgar's, the meeting-house at the head of the Monokin, the meeting-house at Snowhill, and the meeting-house on Mr. Joseph Venable's land, as per Dissenting Ministers required."(2) The fact as shown here, of these four churches in Maryland, sufficient for two men's labors, besides the churches he still had in Virginia, shows something of the growth and expansion of Makemie's work, and the reason for the need of supply or assistance. It is interesting to note, that there is no record of his ever getting a license for Maryland, though he did a lot of work there. This would lead us to think that he considered his main work in Virginia.

(1) History American Presbyterianism, Hill, 133-4.

(2) Given in Ibid.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM
IN VIRGINIA

Chapter VI

FRANCIS MAKEMIE (Cont.)

9. Organization of the Presbytery of Philadelphia.

First Meeting.— We next find Makemie moderating a meeting of Presbytery somewhere in the North, Oct. 27, 1706, which evidently was not the first of such meetings. It is impossible to ascertain positively either the place or the date of the first meeting of the Presbytery owing to the loss of the first two pages of the minutes. But the place must have been Mr. Andrew's church in Philadelphia--The next six meetings were held there. Concerning the date of this first Meeting there has been much speculation. Hill places it in 1705.(1) Gillett leaves it uncertain between 1705 and 1706.(2) Hodge expresses no opinion. Both Webster and Bowen believe it was probably in September 1706.(3) Foote thinks it was not organized until after the qualification of Hampton and McNish in June 1706.(4) However, we may never be sure of this date further than it was between the arrival of Makemie and "his assistants" in America during the summer of 1705, and October 27, 1706.

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- (1) History American Presby'sm, Hill, 62.
(2) History Presbyterian Church in U.S.A., Gillett, I, 18.
(3) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 560.
(4) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 55.

First Recorded Meeting.— The first meeting of which we have record is generally agreed by most historians to have been an adjourned meeting at Freehold, N.J., Oct. 27, 1706, for the special purpose of ordaining Mr. Boyd. It is likely that he was prevented attending Philadelphia on account of his health. He died in 1708.(1) This adjourned Meeting most likely followed a regular meeting in Philadelphia during the first part of October, 1706, which may or may not have been the first meeting. This seems more probable because the ministers taking a part in the adjourned Meeting would have the two close together, and so prevent the necessity of another hard trip home and back again. Also Makemie and Hampton were on a journey to New England, and this arrangement would fit in fine with their plans, both of whom attended. That the ordination occurred in Freehold, seems to be conclusive from Lord Cornbury's letter charging Makemie and Hampton with ordaining men in New Jersey.(2)

The minutes of that first recorded meeting will be interesting here. They begin at the top of the third page, and are as follows:(3)

"--De regimine ecclesiae, which being heard was approved of and sustained. He gave in also his thesis to be considered of against next sederunt.

"Sederunt 2d. 10 bris. 27.

Post preces sederunt, Mr. Francis McKemie, Moderator, Messrs. Jedediah Andrews, and John Hampton, Ministers.

"Mr. John Boyd performed the other parts of his trials, viz. preached a popular sermon on John i.12; defended his

(1) History of the Pres. Church in U.S.A., Gillett, I, 18.

(2) Given in Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 65.

(3) Records of the Pres. Church in U.S.A., 1706-1788, p.7.

thesis; gave satisfaction as to his skill in the languages, and answered to extemporaneous questions; all which were approved of, and sustained.

"Appointed his ordination to be on the next Lord's day, the 29th inst., which was accordingly performed in the public meeting house of this place, before a numerous assembly; and the next day he had the certificate of his ordination."

Old Philadelphia Presbytery.— There were seven charter members in the old General Presbytery of Philadelphia: Revs. Francis Makemie, John Hampton, George McNish, Samuel Davis, John Wilson, Jedediah Andrews, and Nathaniel Taylor. The first Moderator was most likely Francis Makemie.(1) This old Presbytery, though struggling along for a while, was destined to play a greater part in the moulding of the American Republic, through the giving of its forms and usages, than any other single organization.

10. Conflict With Lord Cornbury.

Preaching and Arrest in New York.— As travelling was very slow and hard in those days, it is not likely that Makemie and Hampton, with a trip to Boston in view, and being as far north as Freehold, would have come all the way back to Virginia, only to make another trip in so short a time. So it seems, that after ordaining John Boyd, and perhaps spending a week or so in that section in the interests of the Presbytery, they continued on, perhaps preaching as they went, toward Boston.(2) They were going through New York in January of 1707. Desiring a conference with Lord Cornbury, the

(1) Ibid.

(2) American Presbyterianism, Briggs, 152.

Governor, he invited them to dine with him on the 17th or 18th, which they did, and stated their purpose to continue their journey. In the meantime application was made, without their knowledge, to the Governor for permission to preach in the Dutch church. This was refused and Makemie was invited to preach in the house of Wm. Jackson, a shoemaker, which he did in as public a manner as possible, also baptizing a child. At the same time Hampton preached on Long Island. Two or three days later they were both arrested, and after being insulted by being carried about over the country as exemplary criminals, were brought before Lord Cornbury charged with preaching "in a private house without having obtained my license for so doing." (1)

First Trial and Imprisonment.— Though no accurate records were kept of the conversations, the most important part "was very soon committed to writing," and published probably by Makemie himself in 1707 under the following title, "A Narrative of a new and universal American Imprisonment of two Presbyterian Ministers and Prosecution of Mr. Francis Makemie." This tract was republished in 1755, and used in the cause of American Liberty. (2) It is really a small book containing about 25,000 words and is entirely too long to be given here, but some parts of it will be very interesting:

When Francis Makemie accompanied by Hampton was brought before Lord Cornbury in the Council Chamber he was greeted with a rude salutation, perhaps intending to intimidate him: "How dare you take upon you to preach in my government without

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 64.

(2) Hist. Pres. Church in Amer., Webster, 307.

my license?"

But Makemie was not to be intimidated and immediately answered: "We have liberty from an act of Parliament made the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary...with which law we have complied."

L.C.--"None shall preach in my government without my license."

F.M.--"If the law for liberty, my Lord, had directed us to any particular persons in authority for license, we would readily have observed the same; but we cannot find any directions in said act of Parliament, therefore we could not take notice thereof."

L.C.--"That law does not extend to the American Plantations, but only to England."

F.M.--"My Lord, I humbly conceive it is not a limited nor local act; and am well assured it extends to other plantations of the Queen's dominions, which is evident from certificates from courts of record of Virginia and Maryland, certifying we have complied with said law."

Here the certificates were produced and read by Lord Cornbury who declared that they did not extend to New York, and said further of the Act of Toleration: "I know it is local and limited, for I was at the making thereof."

F.M.--"Your Excellency might be at the making thereof; but we are well assured there is no such limiting clause therein as in local acts, and we desire that the law may be produced to determine this point."

Lord Cornbury now seeks refuge in Mr. Bekely, his attorney, by asking: "Is it not so Mr. Attorney?" Mr. Attorney of course agrees: "Yes it is local, my Lord...The Act of Toleration, being made to take off the edge of the penal laws, does not extend to the plantations."

F.M.--"I desire the law may be produced, for I am morally persuaded there is no limitation or restriction in the law to England, Wales, and Berwick on Tweed; for it extends to sundry plantations of the Queen's dominions, as Barbadoes, Virginia, and Maryland, which was evident from the certificates produced, which we could not have obtained if the act of Parliament had not extended to the plantations. I presume New York is a part of Her Majesty's dominions also, and sundry Ministers on the east end of Long Island have complied with the law and qualified themselves at court by complying with the directions of said law, and have no license from your Lordship."

L.C.--"Yes, New York is of her Majesty's dominions; but the Act of Toleration does not extend to the plantations by its own intrinsic virtue, or any intention of the legislators, but only by Her majesty's instructions signified unto me, and that is from her prerogative and clemency; and the courts which have qualified these men are in error, and I will check them for it."

F.M.--"If the law extends to the plantations any manner of way, whether by the Queen's prerogative, clemency, or otherwise, our certificates were a demonstration that we had complied therewith."

L.C.--"These certificates were only for Virginia and Maryland; they did not extend to New York."

F.M.--"We presume, my Lord, our certificates do extend as far as the law extends; for we are directed by the act of Parliament to qualify ourselves in the places where we live, which we have done; and the same law directs us to take certificates of our qualification, which we have also done; and these certificates are not to certify to such as behold us taking our qualifications, being performed in the face of the country at a public court; but our certificates must be to satisfy others abroad in the world, who saw it not nor heard any thing of it, otherwise it were needless. And that law which obliges us to take a certificate, must allow said certificate to have a credit and a reputation in her Majesty's dominions; otherwise it is to no purpose."

L.C.-- beginning to see that he has more than met his match, becomes rude: "That act of Parliament was made against strolling Preachers, and you are such, and shall not preach in my government."

The imperturable Makemie answered: "There is not one word, my Lord, mentioned in any part of the law against travelling or strolling Preachers, as your Excellency is pleased to call them; and we are to judge that to be the true end of the law which is specified in the preamble thereof, which is for the satisfaction of scrupulous consciences and uniting the subjects of England in interest and affection. And it is well known, my Lord, to all, that Quakers, who also have liberty by this law, have few or no fixed Teachers, but are chiefly taught by such as travel, and it is known to all that such are sent forth by the yearly meeting at London, and travel and teach over the plantations, and are not molested."

L.C.--"I have troubled some of them, and will trouble them more."

F.M.--"We hear, my Lord, one of them was prosecuted at Jamaica, but it was not for travelling and teaching, but for particulars in teaching, for which he suffered."

Cornbury, now losing his temper, retorted: "You shall not spread your pernicious doctrines here."

Makemie, always ready and calm, replied: "As to our doctrines, my Lord, we have our Confession of Faith, which is known to the Christian world, and I challenge all the clergy of New York to show us any false or pernicious doctrines therein; yes, with those exceptions specified in the law, we are able to make it appear that they are, in all doctrinal articles of faith, agreeable to the established doctrines of the Church of England."

L.C.--"There is one thing wanting in your certificates, and that is the signing the articles of the Church of England."

F.M.--"That is the Clerk's omission, my Lord, for which we are no way responsible....I have a copy in my pocket, and am ready at all times to sign, with those specified exceptions."

Cornbury, cornered again, digs up another accusation: "You preached in a private house, not certified according to act of Parliament."

F.M.--"Your Lordship's permission was demanded, without my knowledge, for my preaching in the Dutch Church, and being denied, we were under a necessity of assembling for public worship in a private house, which we did in as public a manner as possible, with open doors."

L.C.--"None shall preach in my government without my license, as the Queen has signified to me, by her royal instructions."

F.M.--"These can be no rule or law to us, nor any particular person, who never saw, and perhaps never shall see them. For promulgation is the life of the law."

A copy of these instructions were later produced, which were: "And you are to ~~to~~ permit liberty of conscience to all persons, except Papists, so that they be content with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of it, not giving offence or scandal to the Government."

"You are not to permit any Minister coming from England to preach in your Government, without a certificate from the Right Reverend the Bishop of London; nor any other Minister coming from any other part or place, without first obtaining leave from our Governor."

These were two distinct instructions, having no affinity to each other, which were sent to all governors. They were joined for the occasion, but Makemie was wise enough to dis-

cover it. The first refers to Dissenters, but the last to Ministers of the Church of England.

Lord Cornbury now demands: "You must give bond and security for your good behavior, and also bond and security to preach no more in my government."

The steadfast Makemie replied: "Though we have no way broke our behavior, endeavoring always so to live as 'to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and man,' yet if your Lordship requires it we would give security for our behavior; but to give bond and security to preach no more in your Excellency's government, if invited and desired by any people, we neither can nor dare do."

L.C.--"Then you must go to gaol."

F.M.--"We are neither ashamed nor afraid of what we have done ...And it will be unaccountable to England, to hear that Jews, who openly blaspheme the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and disown the whole Christian religion; Quakers, who disown the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England and both the sacraments; Lutherans, and all others, are tolerated in your Lordship's government, and only we, who have complied and are still ready to comply with the Act of Toleration, and are nearest to and likeliest to the Church of England of any Dissenters, should be hindered, and that only in the government of New York and the Jerseys. This will appear strange indeed."

After some further dialogue, the Governor proceeded to write an order transferring the prisoners to the custody of the sheriff of New York. Mr. Hampton, who had hitherto remained silent, asked for a license, and was refused. Makemie requested that the Law of Toleration be produced and examined to see if it is local and limited, offering to pay the attorney for a copy of the limiting clause, "but everything relating hereunto was declined and disregarded." And Lord Cornbury asked with a sneer: "You, sir, know law?" Makemie replied with confidence: "I do not, my Lord, pretend to know law; but I pretend to know this particular law, having had sundry disputes thereon." The commitment being finished was as follows:

"You are hereby required and commanded to take into your custody the bodies of Francis Makemie and John Hampton, and them safely keep, till further orders; and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"Given under my hand and seal this 23rd day of January, 1706-7.
Carnbury. (seal)

"To Ebenezer Wilson, Esq., High Sheriff of New York."

This Commitment is seen to be illegal in several particulars--(1) It was granted and signed by the governor, whose legal functions did not include such acts. (2) It was without reference to the Queen's authority. (3) It did not state any crime as the ground of commitment. (4) It directed the sheriff to hold them "until further orders," and not "until they are delivered by due course of law." However, they were both kept in prison until March though they petitioned the Governor to know their crime; pleading that they were strangers on their way to England about four hundred miles from home; and asking a speedy trial which they "conceived to beth undoubted right and privilege of every English subject." When at length brought to trial before a grand jury, they were put off until the last day of the term, so nothing but an indictment could be given, and the trial was postponed to the next term. Hampton was dismissed, and Makemie alone was indicted for having preached to an assembly of more than five persons without having obtained permission and without qualification, and also for having used other rites and ceremonies than those used in the Book of Common Prayer.(1)

Out on Bail.-- Having given bail of forty pounds at this March term of court for his presence at the next term which

(1) History Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 174-188.

convened on the 3rd of June, Makemie and Hampton departed for Accomac. On his way he attended the meeting of Presbytery in Philadelphia, which commenced its sessions March 22, (Saturday) 1707. Here, according to the minutes, Tuesday, March 25th, "Mr. Francis Makemie and Mr. John Wilson delivered their discourses according to appointment, and were approved." Wednesday, some Overtures, interesting in themselves, and particularly so as the last important presbyterial act in which Makemie had a part, were "proposed to the Presbytery and agreed upon:" (1)

"First, That every minister in their respective congregations, read and comment upon a chapter of the Bible every Lord's day, as discretion and circumstances of time, place, &c., will admit.

"Second over: That it be recommended to every minister of the Presbytery to set on foot and encourage private Christian societies.

"Third over: That every minister of the Presbytery supply neighboring desolate places where a minister is wanting, and opportunity of doing good offers."

While in Philadelphia, Makemie wrote a letter to Benjamin Colman March 28, 1707, in which he speaks of having "commenced a correspondence with our Rd. Brethren of the Ministry at Boston," and secured their "sympathizing concurrence." (2) These New England ministers wrote to London agents April 1, 1707: (3)

"Except speedy relief be obtained, the issue will be, not only a vast oppression of a very worthy servant of God, but also a confusion upon the whole body of Dissenters in these colonies, where they are languishing under my Lord Cornbury's arbitrary and unaccountable government. We do therefore earnestly solicit you, that you would humbly petition the Queens majesty on this occasion, and represent the sufferings of the Dissenters in those parts of America which are carried on in so direct violation of her majesty's commands, of the laws of the nation, and the common rights of Englishmen."

(1) Records of the Pres. Church, 1706-1788, p.8.

(2) For full letter, see Appendix

(3) Given in American Presbyterianism, Briggs, 154.

After Presbytery Makemie most likely returned home and spent what time he could with his wife and children. By this time he had two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne.

Returns for Trial.- As Paul set his face stedfastly toward Jerusalem, and Luther departed for the Diet at Worms, and Knox went fearless before the Queen herself, so, as June approached, the resolute advocate of Dissenters' rights, returned from far Virginia, to New York, in time to meet the court on the first day of its sessions. No doubt the attorney was taken aback at the fearlessness shown in Makemie's return, for it is not likely that he was anxious again to meet this bold defender of justice, and perhaps had consented to his going with the hopes that this would be the last of him. But if so, he had wrongly judged his man, for Makemie was one who feared no man. It is to be noted that the Governor made no special effort to be present at this trial, which one would expect after having become so thoroughly acquainted with the caliber of his opponent.(1)

Second Trial and Freedom.- During the trial, Makemie had the aid of three of the best lawyers in New York. The iniquity of the prosecution was made plain. His lawyers having concluded their arguments, Makemie spoke in his own defense. Having been trained by many experiences, he made the ablest speech, vindicating himself from every charge, showing masterful familiarity with the English laws bearing upon his case, and proved that he had kept within his rights in preaching in

(1) See History Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 188-204.

New York. He overmatched the attorney as easily as he had Lord Cornbury. The jury, after being instructed to bring in a special verdict, found him not guilty, and declared that he had violated no law. The court, nevertheless, made him pay all costs, including the unreasonable fees of the sheriff and his own prosecuting attorney, amounting in all to eighty-three pounds, seven shillings, and six pence.(1)

Preaches Again.— Immediately upon his liberation, he preached again in the church allowed to the French. Great excitement followed. Cornbury tried to have him arrested again; but he made his escape to New England.(2) He may have carried the manuscripts on his person which he put in the hands of those who printed them of his Imprisonment and Prosecution, and also the Sermon he preached in New York. The latter was published in Boston, 1707, under the following title: "A Good Conversation A Sermon preached at the city of New York Jan. 19th, 1706-7."(3)

Letter to Cornbury.— The publication of these two pamphlets, together with Makemie's presence, aroused the indignation of Dissenters in New England against such oppression as he had been afflicted with, and won their opposition to its repetition in the colonies. Thence also he wrote a letter of remonstrance to Lord Cornbury against the treatment to which he had been subjected, bearing the date, Boston, July 28, 1707.(4) The letter abates nothing from the principles

(1) Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 188-215; Va. Pres. & Rel. Lib., Johnson, 24.

(2) Va. Pres. and Re. Lib., Johnson, 24-5.

(3) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 541.

(4) Va. Presby'sm and Re. Lib., Johnson, 25.

of law and liberty maintained in the trial. He stands proudly upon his known character as a peer of the highest. The baseless accusations of perjured informers are treated with the scorn they deserve, and he challenges investigation and an opportunity to prove his innocence. But it is all done as by one who respects dignities and honors the law.(1)

Cornbury's Misrepresentations.- As far as we know, Makemie's letter was never answered, but Cornbury is not through with the sequels to this shameful persecution. New York begins to awake to his wrongs, and as early as October the Governor finds it necessary to write in his own defense to his superiors in England.(2) This letter dated Oct. 14, 1707 is filled with many misrepresentations endeavoring to prejudice the minds of the English authorities against Makemie. He speaks of Makemie thus:(3)

"He is a Jack of all trades; he is a preacher, a doctor of physic, a merchant, an attorney, a counsellor at law, and, which is worst of all, a disturber of governments."

Just Retribution.- Next year the Legislature took steps to prevent the recurrence of such infamous extortions upon those pronounced innocent by the courts. Cornbury became so unpopular and tyrannous, that the home government in 1709 removed him from office, and thereupon he was arrested by his creditors and committed to the same prison where he had confined Makemie and Hampton. He finally fell into the pit he himself had digged.(4)

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 83. See Appendix for full letter.

(2) Days of Makemie, Bowen, 480. (3) Ibid. 483. (4) Ibid. 484.

11. The Earthly End of a Noble Life.

His Death.— Returning to Virginia, Makemie must have declined in health until on April 27, 1708 we find him writing his will.(1) Presbytery is postponed until May, perhaps on his account, but still he is unable to attend. He was called to his heavenly reward soon afterwards, and we find his will proved, according to law, August 4, 1708.(2)

His Greatness.— In the death of Makemie, Presbyterianism in America had lost its strongest supporter. Makemie was "a man of fervid piety, strong intellectuality, vigorous, will-power, attractive address, tact, and general, all-round endowments." He was indisposed to excite unnecessary antagonisms, but was an invincible fighter for what he believed to be right. He had fought for twenty-five years, a quarter of a century, and won the battle of his age for toleration. He had fathered Presbyterianism in America, and indelibly impressed his own character upon it. Though dead, he was yet to live on in that body of Christian people of whom it has been well said: "No civil state, or religious denomination south of the Hudson, or perhaps in the Union, has done more for the advance of civil liberty, or freedom of conscience, and the public welfare." (3) Foote says, "The facts and principles that sustained Makemie in Accomac have been felt through all the South and West. He stands first in the list of names that shine as galaxy in the Ecclesiastical horizon; and as a

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 56. (2) Ibid.
(3) Va. Presby'sm and Rel. Lib., Johnson, 25.

defender of civil liberty and equal rights in America he had no superior."(1)

Makemie's Will.— It will be interesting to notice some extracts from his Will as follows:(2)

"In the name of God amen. I, Francis Makemie, of the county of Accomack, in Her Majesty's dominion of Virginia, being weak and infirm of body but in perfect soundness of mind and memory, and sensible of the universal frailty of life and an approaching dissolution by death, and desirous to settle that estate which God in his bounty hath been pleased to bestow upon me and for preventing future differences which may arise concerning the same; committing my body to ye dust decently to be interred and my immortal soul to an Almighty and Most Merciful God in hopes of a glorious and blessed resurrection unto eternal Salvation through the efficacy of the powerful merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, our blessed and glorious Redeemer; I do hereby revoke, make null and void all wills and testaments heretofore by me made, and do make, constitute and ordain this to be my last will and testament in manner and form following.

"I give, will, and bequeath unto my loving wife Naomie Makemie, and my two daughters Elizabeth and Anne Makemie, one hundred and twenty books, to be chosen by my executrix out of the English books of my library...And the rest of my library of books of all sorts I give and bequeath unto Mr. Jedediah Andrews, Minister at Philadelphia, excepting my law books, and after his decease or removal from Philadelphia, I give and bequeath the said library to such Minister or Ministers as shall succeed him in that place and office, and to such only as shall be of the Presbyterian or Independent persuasion, and none else. My will is that as soon as said books are remitted to Philadelphia, the number and names of said library may be put upon record, to be preserved there as a constant library for the use of said Minister or Ministers successively forever."

"I order and empower my executor to/sell, dispose of, and alien my house and lot at the new town in Princess Anne county, on the eastern branch of Elizabeth River; as also my lot and house, or frame of house, in the new town on Wormley's creek, called Urbana; as also my lot joining the new meeting-house lot in Pocomoke town, called Rehoboth, empowering my executrix to make over and alienate that lot on which the meeting-house is built in as ample a manner, to all intents and purposes, as

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 63.

(2) Hist. Amer. Presby'sm, Hill, 131-3; The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 500-503.

shall be required, for the ends and uses of a Presbyterian congregation, as if I were personally present, and to their successors forever, and none else but to such of the same persuasion in matters of religion."

"I give and bequeath unto Mr. Jedediah Andrews, Minister at Philadelphia, and his heirs forever, my black camlet cloak and my new cane bought and fixed at Boston."

"I will, give and bequeath unto my beloved wife and two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Makemie, the remainder of my estate, real and personal, not already disposed of either by the will of Mr. William Anderson or this will, equally to be divided among them, and the reversion of all real estate to return to the longest liver or livers of them; and if my daughters aforesaid die without issue of their natural bodies, their parts of all estate, real and personal given by this will, I give and bequeath to my youngest sister Anne Makemie, of the kingdom of Ireland, and the two eldest sons of my brothers John and Robert Makemie, both of the name of Francis Makemie, and their heirs forever."

"I do constitute, appoint, and ordain my dear and well-beloved wife Naomie Makemie, my executrix of this my last will and testament, committing to her, and to her only, the guardianship and tutorship of aforesaid children whilst in minority, during her natural life. And in case of the death of my dear wife Naomie Makemie before this my will is proved and executed, or the arrival of my daughters Elizabeth and Anne Makemie at age, I do constitute, appoint, and ordain the Hon. Colonel Francis Jenkins, his lady and beloved consort, of Somerset county, in Maryland, executors of this my last will and testament, and guardians to my said children during their minority, and till marriage; charging all persons concerned, in the presence of Almighty and Omniscent God, to give and allow my said children a sober, virtuous, and religious education, either here or elsewhere, as in Britain, New England, or Philadelphia; and that no other person or persons, courts or judicatories whatsoever, besides my executrix or executors nominated and appointed; and whom they shall appoint in case of the mortality of executors already appointed, shall have any power to inter-meddle with my said estate, real or personal, or the tutory or guardianship of my said children, (without incurring the penalty of statutes of wards and liveries, and thereby liable to an action of trespass.)"

"My will and pleasure is, that, in case of my wife's marrying she have power and authority, if she should apprehend it requisite or necessary, either before or after marrying, to relinquish her executorship, and commit the same, with relation to her children, their estate, and guardianship, unto the trust, care, and management of Col. Francis Jenkins and his lady.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto fixed my hand and seal this 27th of April, 1708.

"Francis Makemie, (L.S.)"

His Family.- Elizabeth, the older daughter, died the same year with her father.(1) Anne Married three times, the last to George Holden, clerk of the County Court, and died about 1788. She had no children, so there runs not a drop of Makemie's blood in the veins of any human being. It must have been some satisfaction to her to live to see the freedom becoming a fact for which her father agonized so much. Mrs. Makemie married James Kemp, one of the "trusty and good friends" named in Makemie's will. We last hear of her when she was sixty years old.(2)

For some years after the death of Makemie, Presbyterianism waned in Virginia. The congregation in Accomac seems to have broken up, and for over a hundred years we hear little or nothing of Presbyterianism there. Foote tells us that prior to 1850 one would "find in Accomack a congregation of Presbyterians rising, phoenix like, from the ashes of those who heard Makemie preach and pray."(3) There is a small church now in Accomac that bears the name of "Makemie."(4) A Presbyterian church was organized at an early date between the Rappahannock and the Potomac Rivers, which probably had its origin in Makemie's work.

The Old Plantation.- The plantation where the pioneer lived and died is well known, stretching along the south bank of Holden's Creek, in Accomac County, from Jenkin's bridge to Pocomoke sound. There are two old graveyards, about two

(1) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 543. (2) Ibid. 543-6.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 46.

(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.276.

miles apart--one on the upper or eastern farm, the other on the lower or western. According to Anne Makemie Holden's will where she speaks of "the old part where I formerly lived, being the westernmost part of the land," this lower or western farm is "the old part," where the Andersons and Makemies lived and died, and the graveyard there marks the place where their bodies rest.(1)

Monument and Summary.-- A monument was erected and unveiled on the two hundredth anniversary of Makemie's death on the spot where his body lays, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia, May 14, 1908. Three acres reserved from the original Makemie farm were dedicated at this same time as "Makemie Monument Park," containing "the site of the Makemie home, and of the nearby Family Cemetery wherein he, his wife and her parents, his children and other kindred were buried." The Inscription of the Monument reads:(2)

"ERECTED IN GRATITUDE TO GOD

And in grateful remembrance of His servant and minister

Francis Makemie

who was born in Rathmelton, County Donegal, Ireland, A.D. 1658 (?), was educated at Glasgow University, Scotland, and came as an ordained Evangelist to the American Colonies A.D. 1683 at the request of Col. William Stephens, of Rehoboth, Maryland. A devoted and able preacher of our Lord's Gospel, he labored faithfully and freely for twenty-five years in Maryland, Virginia, the Barbadoes and elsewhere. A Christian gentleman, an enterprising man of affairs, a public-spirited citizen, a distinguished advocate of Religious Liberty, for which he suffered under the Governor of New York, he is specially remembered as The chief founder of organized Presbytery in America, A.D.1706, and as the first Moderator of the General Presbytery. He died at his home, whose sight is nearby, in Accomack County, Virginia, in the summer of A.D.1708, and was buried in his family cemetery, located on this spot, now recovered from a long desecration and dedicated with this monument to his memory A.D.1908 by the American "Presbyterian Historical Society," seated at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania."

(1) Days of Makemie, Bowen, 546-7; Makemieland Mem., Bowen, 1-16.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter VII

ORGANIZATION OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

It will be helpful here to take a glimpse at the organization of the Presbyterian church in America from its beginning through the eighteenth century. We will then be better able to understand the relation of the churches in Virginia to the organization of the church as a whole. Those presbyteries that have been interested in Virginia are shown by red lines in the chart on page 109.

We have seen earlier how the first Presbytery was organized under the instrumentality of Francis Makemie in the year 1705 or 1706, most likely the latter with seven charter members. This body continued, holding regular meetings until 1717, when there were seventeen ministers enrolled, and it was decided to form the Synod of Philadelphia with three Presbyteries by the names of Philadelphia, New Castle, and Long Island. In the year 1742 these had grown to five Presbyteries--the new Presbyteries being New York, New Brunswick, and Donegall. Of these, New Castle, and Donegall, which was formed in 1732 out of New Castle, were interested in the work of the church in Virginia. The Synod itself also, as well as the Presbyteries, received supplications and sent out supplies to different mission fields, including Virginia.(1)

(1) Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1706-1788.

Chart of Presbyteries — Presbyterian Church in America.

1706 — 7 Ministers
1717 — 17 "
1745 — 37 "
1745
1758 — 96 "
1758
1789 — 159 "
General Assembly
Synods of —
Philadelphia
New York & New Jersey
Virginia
The Carolinas

Bras. Phila.
Synod of Phila.
New Castle
Lewis
Donegal
Philadelphia
East Jersey
Long Island
N.B.
N.Y.
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100

Years are represented on the Scale of 1/16 of an inch to a year.

Presbytery
Synod
Assembly
Presbyteries interested in Virginia

Presbytery
Synod
Assembly
Presbyteries interested in Virginia

— All data here gathered from Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1706-1789.

In 1745 the Presbyteries of New Brunswick, New York, and a part of New Castle, withdrew from the Synod of Philadelphia and formed the Synod of New York, entirely independent of the Synod of Philadelphia. After thirteen years of separation, they were again united in 1758--The Synod of Philadelphia bringing back into the union twenty-four ministers and the same three Presbyteries; and The Synod of New York bringing seventy-two ministers and six Presbyteries, three of which had been added since the separation. These three were Suffolk, Abingdon, and Hanover. The latter was formed out of that part of New Castle which was in Virginia in 1755. During this period both Presbyteries of New Castle, the Presbytery of Donegal, and the Presbytery of Hanover^{and occasionally the Presbytery of New Brunswick} were interested in the church in Virginia, besides both of the Synods.(1)

The New Synod formed by the union in 1758 was called the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and contained eight Presbyteries. Donegall was the continuation of Donegall, Philadelphia was made up of the old Presbyteries of Philadelphia and Abingdon; New Castle was made up of the two Presbyteries of that name; Lewestown was made a new Presbytery; Suffolk, New Brunswick, New York, and Hanover were all continued.(2)

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia continued until the formation of the General Assembly in 1789, at which time

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

there were one hundred and fifty-nine ministers enrolled in sixteen Presbyteries. Five of these Presbyteries had grown out of the Presbytery of Hanover in Virginia--Orange in 1770, embracing all the territory south of the North Carolina line, and out of which in 1784 was formed the Presbytery of South Carolina, and later Concord, Fayetteville, etc.; Abingdon in 1785, embracing all the southwestern part of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, and out of which was formed Transylvania in 1786; and Lexington in 1786, embracing all the territory west of the Blue Ridge, from which later grew the Presbyteries of Winchester, Greenbrier, and Montgomery.(1)

The Presbyteries of Lexington, Transylvania, Hanover, and Redstone, the latter of which was formed from parts of Donegal and New Castle Presbyteries in western Pennsylvania, were combined to form the Synod of Virginia in 1789, with a total of thirty ministers on their rolls. The Presbytery of Abingdon, which became a part of the Synod of the Carolinas, embraced the south-western neck of Virginia. As Transylvania Presbytery included the district of Kentucky and settlements on Cumberland River, and Redstone that of western Pennsylvania, we find that by the year 1789 there were three Presbyteries active in Virginia, viz. Hanover in Eastern Virginia, Lexington in the Shenandoah Valley and headwaters of the James, and Abingdon in South-west Virginia. Also several of the northern Presbyteries, particularly Baltimore and Carlisle,

(1) Ibid.

continued their interests in northern Virginia for some years. (1)

In 1794, Winchester Presbytery was formed out of the northern part of Lexington. Thus there were four Presbyteries in Virginia at the End of the eighteenth century----Hanover, Lexington, and Winchester in the Synod of Virginia, and Abingdon in the Synod of the Carolinas.(2)

At present there are nine Presbyterys in Virginia,--eight in the Virginia Synod: Lexington, Winchester, Montgomery, East Hanover, West Hanover, Roanoke, Potomac, and Norfolk; and Abingdon in the Appalachia Synod.(3)

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ms. Records of the Synod of Virginia, 1794.

(3) Minutes of the General Assembly, 1931.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF EPISCOPALIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter VIII

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN THE VALLEY

By the term "Valley," "Valley of Virginia," or "Shenandoah Valley" is meant that part of Virginia which lays between the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains, and the James and Potomac Rivers. Its length is about 250 miles, and its average width about 25 miles.(1) A comprehensive and accurate description of this country is given in Deuteronomy, "A good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vine... a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron!"(2)

1. Early Arrivals.

Though eastern Virginia was settled as early as 1607, and with the exception of possibly one or two exploring parties, the first passage of the Blue Ridge and entrance into the Valley by white men, was that made by Gov. Spotswood in 1716.(3) However, when settlers did begin to enter the Valley, they did not come from the East across the Blue Ridge, as we might have supposed, but from the North, across the Potomac. Nor were these hardy pioneers the English Episcopalians, who had

(1) Life of Archibald Alexander, Alexander, 2.

(2) Deuteronomy, 8:7-9.

(3) Annals Augusta County, Waddell, 17-20.

so long held eastern Virginia-- they were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, German Reformed, and Quakers, who having landed along the coasts of New Jersey or Delaware, had pushed their way westward into Pennsylvania, and thence southward across Maryland and the Potomac, till they found the home of which they were in search, on the waters of the Opecquon and the Shenandoah.(1)

The first immigrants settled just south of the Potomac River, near the present Shepherdstown on or before 1707. Convincing evidence of this has been found in an old graveyard on Elk Branch, where a tombstone was erected to the memory of Katarina Beierlin, a Christian Woman, and states that she died in 1707.(2) This settlement was most likely called Potomoke. We will have occasion to refer back to this further on.

The next settlement was made by Germans in 1726 on the Shenandoah River, a few miles below the present Port Republic.⁽³⁾

Joist Hite, with sixteen families, removed from Pennsylvania in 1732, and settled a few miles south of the present town of Winchester.(4)

About this same time, 1732, John Lewis, a Presbyterian and native of Donegal County, Ireland, with his family, consisting of one daughter and four sons--Thomas, William, Andrew, and Charles, settled on a creek which bears his name near the

(1) Presbyterian Church in Northern Va., Graham, 6.

(2) Ibid. 13-14.

(3) Annals Augusta Co., Waddell, 21-23.

(4) History of the Valley, Kercheval, 49.

present town of Staunton. He erected a stone house about 1747, called Lewis's fort, which is still standing. John Lewis and his sturdy sons are good examples of these Scotch-Irish pioneers who proved to be just the men to battle with the adverse circumstances which surrounded them in this wilderness country. William fought in many wars against the Indians and was an officer in the Revolution. Andrew, who became a General, was perhaps the best known. Charles was one of the most daring.(1)

From this time immigration increased very rapidly in the Valley from the north, mainly through the instrumentality of Joist Hite, Benj. Borden, Wm. Beverley, and James Patton, all of whom had bought or received large grants of land for the purpose of obtaining settlers. Great efforts were made by these gentlemen to persuade emigrants from Europe and also from Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, to take their residence in the Valley. Advertisements, describing in glowing terms the beauty and fertility of the Valley, and offering homes to poor emigrants on easy terms, were sent abroad in every direction, and attracted the attention of the hard working tenants in Ireland, England, and Germany, to whom the offer of a farm in fee simple was the offer of wealth.(2)

2. The Scotch Irish.

The Name.— James I succeed in settling a large part of North Ireland, which had been practically depopulated by

(1) History of Va., Campbell, 427-8; Annals Augusta Co., Waddell, 24-6; Historical Collections of Va., Howe, 451; Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 306-7.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 101.

Elizabeth, with Scotch immigrants. These Scotchmen retained the characteristic traits of their native stock, and did not intermarry with the natives. Their descendants, in order to be distinguished from both the native Irish and the native Scotch, have received the appellation of SCOTCH-IRISH.(1)

The intelligence, industry, and thrift of these immigrants into Ireland soon transformed the face of the country. Froude says that "they went over to earn a living by labor, in a land which had produced hitherto little but banditti. They built towns and villages; they established trades and manufactures; they enclosed fields, raised farm houses and homesteads, where till then had been but robbers, castles, wattled huts, or holes in the earth like rabbit burrows."(2)

Persecutions.— Shortly after their settlement in Ulster a revival swept over the country, and was the means of many becoming devoutly religious. In 1632 Archbishop Laud began to take a hand in Irish affairs, and issued rigid orders to silence those who would not conform strictly to the rites and ceremonies of the Establishment. This resulted in the suspension of eight ministers, and much suffering. The Black Oath in 1639, binding all except Catholics to yield an unconditional obedience to royal commands, civil or religious, just or unjust, was the cause of much more hardship in North Ireland. Many refused to take the oath, and on these the heaviest penalties of the law, short of death were inflicted. Crowds of defenceless females fled

(1) Sketches of North Carolina, Foote, 90.

(2) Annals Augusta Co., Waddell, 3-4.

to the woods, concealing themselves in caves, and respectable persons were bound together with chains and confined in dungeons. These sufferings of the Presbyterian people for their faith were climaxed in the notable siege of Derry in 1689 that stands alone in the annals of human suffering and endurance. In 1704, after the death of King William, the Sacramental Test Act was enacted, which excluded all Presbyterians from public office, both civil and military, then in 1711 came a fresh outburst of High Church zeal against all Dissenters.(1)

Migration to America.— In consequence of all these persecutions and discouragements, the Presbyterians of Ulster began to look to America as a country for investment of capital and labor, and where religious liberty might be enjoyed. We have seen that applications from Barbadoes and Maryland had come as early as 1678 and 1680 for ministers, and Wm. Traill, who returned at the Revolution, and Francis Makemie were sent in reply. Through Mr. Traill, and Makemie's correspondence, and visits in 1691 and 1705, they must have learned much about America. In 1716, six ministers and many people ventured over the seas, and ten years later, 1728, the emigration to America became so large that it attracted the attention of the government. Archbishop Boulton sent to the Secretary of State in England a "melancholy account," as he calls it, of North Ireland. He says the people who go complain of the

(1) Sketches of N.C., Foote, 92-107; Annals of Augusta Co, Waddell, 4, 6, 9; 11-13; Sketches of Va., Foote, 87-97

oppressions they suffer, as well as the dearness of the provisions, and the whole North is in a ferment which is spreading like a contagion. "The worst," says Boulton, "is that it affects only Protestants, and reigns chiefly in the North, which is the seat of our linen manufacture." Again in 1729, he says: "There are now seven ships at Belfast, that are carrying off about 1,000 passengers thither"---to America. From another source we learn that in 1729, near 6,000 Irish, practically all Presbyterians, came to America landing at Philadelphia. Before the middle of the century nearly 12,000 arrived annually for several years, and nearly all Presbyterians. Landing at Chester and Philadelphia, they sought homes at first in western Pennsylvania and Maryland. Thence many of them turned their faces southward, and crossed the Potomac in great numbers to Virginia.(1)

Settlements Encouraged.— The Colonial Government encouraged the settlement of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in the Valley as a means of protecting the lower country from Indian excursions. With this encouragement they literally flocked to Virginia,-- climbing the hills, wading the streams, and creeping through the forests. There being no landlord or proprietor to parcel out the land, they selected their homes with absolute freedom.

"The world was all before them where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide."(2)

(1) Annals Augusta Co., Waddell, 13-14; Southern Presby'n Leaders, White, 30; The Scotch-Irish of Va., McCorkle, 8; Also see Winning of the West, Roosevelt, I, 101-5.

(2) Annals Augusta County, Waddell, 26.

"We may accompany, in imagination, these immigrants on their way from the settlements north of the Potomac, through the wilderness,^{to} their future home. There was, of course, no road, and for the first comers no path to guide their steps, except, perhaps, the trail of the Indian or buffalo. They came at a venture, climbing the hills, fording the creeks and rivers, and groping through the forests. At night they rested on the ground, with no roof over them but the broad expanse of heaven. After selecting a spot for a night's bivouac, and tethering their horses, fire was kindled by means of flint and steel, and their frugal meal was prepared. Only a scanty supply of food was brought along, for, as game abounded, they mainly 'subsisted off the country.' Before lying down to rest, many of them did not omit to worship the God of their fathers, and invoke His guidance and protection. The moon and stars looked down peacefully as they slumbered, while bears, wolves, and panthers prowled around. It was impossible to bring wagons and all their effects were transported on horseback. The list of articles was meagre enough. Clothing, some bedding, guns, and ammunition, a few cooking utensils, seed corn, axes, saws, &c., and the Bible, were indispensable, and were transported at whatever cost of time and labor. Houses and furniture had to be provided after the place of settlement was fixed upon. We may imagine the leaders of each band, on arriving at a well-wooded and well-watered spot, exclaiming: 'This is my rest, and here will I dwell.' In the meantime there was no

shelter from rain and storm." (1) Settlements in the Valley increased rapidly without interference from the Indians until the breaking out of the French and Indian War in 1754. (2)

Conveniences.— Their first houses were log cabins, erected almost entirely with the use of the axe, with very few conveniences. The furniture was also made with the axe as the main tool, and consequently very plain. Equally plain was their dress and food. Standing dishes were hog and hominy with mush and milk. Their home life was very simple, which does not mean that there was a lack of comfort and happiness. The wife and children did the spinning and weaving for the family, and little attention was paid to society. The men did the farming, hunting, trading, and fighting, when this was necessary. (3)

Churches.— In the church life a similar state of things prevailed. The church buildings were erected entirely with the axe and augur, and possibly the saw, but without nails and a hammer. A part of two logs was cut away for each window, and oiled paper or linen took the place of glass. The roof was made of split clapboards, held in place with weight poles. The doors also were clapboards, fastened to cross-bars with wooded pins--these cross-bars projecting to one side sufficiently to form part of a hinge. The floors were frequently earthen, or if wood, made of split logs smoothed with the axe. The buildings were generally in the

(1) Annals of Augusta Co., Waddell, 26.

(2) History of the Valley, Kercheval, 59.

(3) Ibid. 150-1; Acts of Scotch-Irish Fathers, Calhoun--In Herndon Papers; Winning of the West, Roosevelt, 114-5; Sectionalism in Virginia, Ambler, 15.

shape of squares or parallelograms, if the logs were long enough, if not, the cruciform was adapted with twelve sides. (This was not to represent any Biblical number but for strength and convenience.) One part of the Trancept was the pulpit. Pews were puncheons or split logs with four legs. Seldom was provision made for a fire.(1)

Church Attendance.-- The early ministers travelled from one clearing to another, and held meetings when and where they could. The Shorter Catechism was diligently studied and recited on Sabbath evenings by old and young. Going to church meant something in those days. Ministers travelled from fifteen to fifty miles to reach an appointment. For roads they had blind forest paths; bridges were unknown; and yet braving all perils, heat and cold, mud or storm, appointments were kept. Services were well attended by the people at great sacrifices, on foot, even barefoot, horseback, and riding double. Two services were common on each preaching Sunday--the intermission being well used for lunch and in social greetings.(2)

These log churches in which our fathers worshipped deserve to be held in dearer memory than the battle fields of our history. They were the Antiochs, Philippis, and Corinthians of the New World.

"Aye, call it holy ground,
The spot where first they trod."(3)

(1) Acts of Scotch-Irish Fathers, Calhoun--In Herndon Papers; History of the Valley, Kercheval, 150, 265, 293. See Tinkling Spring Church for diagram of old meeting-house.
(2) Acts of Scotch-Irish Fathers, Calhoun--In Herndon Papers.
(3) Ibid.

Courage and Strength of Character.- Never did men with stronger character or more courage walk upon the face of the earth. They never thought of fearing mortal man, but they feared God with all the strength of their great hearts. "Their conscience was the voice of God and rather than violate it they would die. The iron, long years before, had entered the blood of their fathers; and that historic principle, that God alone is Lord of the conscience, had been forged in their lives. In any contest with evil they preferred to be ground to powder rather than yield to an enervating, or immoral influence. When God made them he put a bone in them that would yield to none but Himself. Hence that unyielding, unbending, character which sent them to the stake rather than outrage a conviction. So rigid were they that they would have been unwilling to go to heaven unless in the way that commended itself to their judgment." On one occasion, when an itinerant was conducting a mission, he called on all who wished to go to heaven to stand up. A doughty son of Ulster present, kept his seat. The preacher then addressed him, "Man do you not wish to go to heaven?" "Yes, I'm gangin," he answered, "but not in a personally conducted party." This rigidity often caused them to seem stolid, but under this stern exterior of rock and oak there was the pleasantness of vine and flower.(1)

Early Religious Instruction.- These were men of clear heads, massive minds, and strong religious principles. The catechisms which were imbibed with their mother's milk kept them

(1) The Scotch-Irish of Va., McCorkle, 14; Winning of the West, Roosevelt, I, 106.

incontact with the sublime truths of the Bible from their childhood. It could be well said of them also, "from a child thou hast known the Scriptures." This catechism was a powerful formative influence in their characters as well as a stimulus to their minds. A noble mother, in order to encourage its study, promised her boys a gun if they would learn it. They got the catechism, and as the last boy had completed his recitation of it, he said to his mother, "Mother do you know what I will do with that gun when I get it?" When she replied in the negative, he spoke up and said, "I am going to ram that old catechism into it and shoot it as far away as I can." She may have thought the catechism was lost on that boy; but not so. He grew up and became one of the bravest of the brave in the American Revolution, and at the close of the war he enlisted in the ministry and became a braver soldier of Jesus Christ. When asked what influence had been most potent in his life, he replied, the truths of the Bible as learned from that catechism at his mother's knees. Many impressions were received at the knees of these mother's, and some of them were none the less lasting because they were received across her knee. Some of the greatest of them were not ashamed to say they were reared on the switch and catechism. Strong minds are fed on strong truths, and^we would naturally expect men and women of such vigorous and robust mental caliber to become the forceful and influential moulders of public opinion in every community. And they were.(1)

(1) The Scotch-Irish of Virginia, McCorkle, 15-16.

3. Religion.

The faith of these Scotch-Irish immigrants had been purified by the severe persecutions they had endured in their native land. And now as they come to America, they are generally a profoundly religious people, bringing the Bible with them, whatever they had to leave behind, and as soon as possible erected log meeting houses in which to assemble for the worship of God.(1)

Presbyterian Congregations.-- Consequently we find Presbyterian Congregations springing up throughout all the Valley. The first of these we find being put in church order in 1719 or 1720 at Potomoke, near Shepherdstown.(2)

About 1735 Wm. Hoge settled on the Opecquon, about three miles south of the present Winchester. The Opecquon meeting-house was erected on his tract of land, and the families of Glass, Vance, Allen, Colvin, White, and others soon joined him and formed the Opecquon Congregation, long considered the oldest Congregation of Presbyterians west of the Blue Ridge.(3)

Cedar Creek in Frederick County, was first occupied by the sons-in-law of Joist Hite in 1732. And about the time that Opecquon was settled numerous families came to Cedar Creek, and formed a Congregation. For a number of years Cedar Creek and Opecquon were united in their pastoral relations.(4)

About 1738, the Congregations of Tinkling Spring, Stone Church, and Mossey Creek, in Augusta County--all forming the

(1) Annals Augusta County, Waddell, 26-27.

(2) Records Synod of Philadelphia, 1719 and 1720.

(3) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 102.

(4) Ibid.

congregation of the Triple Forks of Shenandoah, took their beginning. These were followed soon after by the formation of the Congregations of Timber Ridge, Forks of James in Rockbridge, and Back Creek in Berkley County.(1)

By or about 1745, Presbyterian Congregations of Irish origin more or less direct, had been settled at Falling Waters in Berkley County, Elk Branch and Bull Skin in Jefferson, Peaked Mountain in Rockingham, North Mountain and the Pastures in Augusta, New Providence in Rockbridge, and Roanoke in Botetourt, all of which are in the Valley of Virginia.(2)

Presbyterian Ministers.— Presbyterian Ministers followed closely in the wake of these early colonies, and were instrumental in gathering the Congregations together, and the erection of churches. They came first on short visits, then to become resident pastors.

Daniel McGill visited the people of Potomoke in 1719 or 1720 in carrying out an appointment of Synod.(3)

John Orme fulfilled his appointment in 1723 "to preach four Lord's days before next Synod" to the people of Virginia.(4)

James Gelston was sent from the Presbytery of Donegal in 1737 to visit Opecquon.(5)

James Anderson was sent as a special delegate from the Synod of Philadelphia in 1738, with a message to Gov. Gooch. On his way he visited the Presbyterian colonies in Virginia.

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid. There were also Presbyterian Congregations formed East of the Blue Ridge about the same time some of these were formed in the Valley. These we shall consider later.

(3) Rec. Synod of Phila. 1719 & 1720. (4) Ibid. 1724.

(5) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 118.

He probably preached the first Presbyterian sermon in Augusta County in the house of John Lewis near Staunton.(1)

Mr. Dunlap, a probationer of New York Presbytery, spent about three months in the neighborhood of Staunton, in 1739.(2)

John Thompson of Donegal Presbytery, visited Virginia and spent some time in the middle and lower Valley, in 1739.(3)

John Craig, a probationer of Donegal, visited Augusta in 1739, and later became pastor of Old Stone and Tinkling Spring.(4)

William Robinson, the next of whom we have any knowledge, was sent as an Evangelist by New Castle Presbytery in the winter of 1742-3 in reply to the earnest solicitations of the people, to visit the Presbyterian settlements in the Valley and other places further south.(5)

John Blair came in 1745 and again in 1746, and during the latter visit organized the congregations of North Mountain, New Providence, Timber Ridge, and Forks of James.(6)

Caldwell's Petition.— After this time the visits of Presbyterian ministers to the Valley became frequent, and as the number of Presbyterian emigrants was becoming large, the congregations made efforts for permanent ministers. This desire for the ordinances of religion in the frontier sections had grown so strong, that the subject had ^{been} brought before the Synod of Philadelphia. Friday, May 26, 1738, we find the following entry in the Synod's minutes: (7)

"Upon the supplication of John Caldwell, in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion, who are about to set-

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid. 118-119.
(4) Ibid. 119. (5) Ibid. 119, 126. (6) Ibid. 119.
(7) Records of the Synod of Philadelphia for date.

tle in the back parts of Virginia, desiring that some members of the Synod may be appointed to wait on that government, to solicit their favor in behalf of our interest in that place: Overtured, That according to the purport of the supplication, the Synod appoint two of their number to go and wait upon the Governor and council of Virginia, with suitable instructions in order to procure the favor and countenance of the government of that province, to the laying a foundation of our interest in the back parts thereof, where considerable numbers of families of our persuasion are settling, and that something be allowed out of our fund to bear the charges of said brethren who shall be appointed.....Approved nemine contradicente."

Rev. James Anderson was appointed for this task, which he performed accordingly, and May 28, 1739 reported a favorable answer to Presbytery, the Governor's letter being as follows:(1)

"Sir: By the hands of Mr. Anderson I received an address signed by you, in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And as I have been always inclined to favor the people who have lately removed from other provinces, to settle on the western side of our great mountains; so you may be assured, that no interruption shall be given to any minister of your profession who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the act of toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the places of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceable towards the government. This you may please to communicate to the Synod as an answer of theirs. Your most humble servant,

"William Gooch."

Reasons for Protection.— The reasons Gov. Gooch promised protection to the Presbyterians in the frontier sections, in the exercise of their religion, when the State laws for uniformity were precise and enforced with rigor, were First, He wanted a frontier line at as great a distance as possible from Williamsburg; Second, Being of Scotch descent himself, he knew that these people were firm, enterprising, hardy, brave, and that they would make both good citizens and good soldiers. He welcomed these Presbyterians to the "beautiful

(1) Ibid.

and luxuriant prairies of the Great Valley of the Shenandoah, on the head waters of the James, and along the Roanoke," in order to form a strong line of defense against the Indians, and thus protect eastern Virginia. And Third, At so great a distance from the older settlements, it is not likely that he anticipated any conflict with the Establishment.(1)

Permitted Freedom.— The Presbyterians of the Valley were not compelled to register their meeting-houses as in eastern Virginia, neither was the number of their meeting-houses limited. They were not liable to be fined for not attending the Parish Church, but they were expected to contribute to the support of the parish, and not until 1781 was a person legally married unless the ceremony was performed by a minister of the Establishment.(2)

Efforts to Obtain Ministers.— The Presbyterians in the Valley had increased so rapidly, that by the middle of the century they had far outstripped the supply of the means of grace; and their destitution formed a constant subject of anxiety to both the Synods. In 1742 and again in 1743, after much earnest intreaty "of several of the back inhabitants of Virginia," the Synod of Philadelphia sent a letter to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, laying before them the low and melancholy condition of the infant church in America, both for want of probationers and ministers in their vacant settlements, and entreating that such might be sent them, and supported in part out of the Assembly's fund for

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 105.

(2) Colonial Virginia, Chandler and Thames, 305.

some years. In 1749 the Synod of New York wrote to the Eastern Association of Fairfield in Connecticut, requesting them if possible, to send a minister or ministers to labor in Virginia.(1)

Both Synods did all they could in supplying the Valley and other parts of Virginia for a number of years. The resident ministers, too, did their share of the missionary work, spending a large part of their time in filling appointments to vacant churches. "In these early days the missionary was often compelled to scale precipitous heights, to dive into tangled valleys, to ford swollen streams, and ride in drenching rains. There were occasions, too, when his life was in jeopardy from hostile Indians.(2)

Presbyterian Vestrymen.-- The organization of the Episcopal Church in Augusta County had been provided for in 1738, when the county was formed, but it was not thought wise to elect vestrymen until 1746, and then it is quite certain that most of them were Presbyterians. In their first meeting April 6, 1747, the Rev. John Hindman, a former Presbyterian minister, applied for employment as "rector of the parish," and they agreed to accept him, provided he would not insist upon the purchase of glebe lands for two years, and would hold his services in the meanwhile in the court-house, "and in people's houses of the same persuasion," and not complain to the Governor in regard to the tardiness of his vestrymen. The Episcopal Church was not completed in Staunton until 1763. Though

(1) Hist. Presby'n Ch. of Ky., Davidson, 29-30.

(2) Ibid. 30-32.

all vestrymen were required by law to take the various oaths imposed upon public officers generally, and, in addition, to subscribe a declaration "to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, they probably pleaded the necessity of the case, for without vestrymen and a rector, the poor could not be care for, lands could not be "proccessioned," and the young people of the county could not get married without much expense and inconvenience.(1)

However, the inhabitants west of the Blue Ridge were generally dissenters, coming into the province as such. The Episcopalians never were in the majority,(2) and though there were other dissenting denominations, the Presbyterians appear to have been for many years the only dissenters who had their regular ministers.(3)

(1) Annals Augusta County, Waddell, 58-60.

(2) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 309.

(3) Struggle of Prot. Dissen. for Rel. Toleration, McIlwaine, 42.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter IX

INDIANS

Some facts about the Indians, the War with the French and Indians, and Indian Incursions will be appropriate here, for many, if not most, of those taking part in the Indian Wars, and suffering from the savage cruelties, were Presbyterians.

Indian Settlements in the Valley.— Evidences are plentiful of Indian Settlements in all parts of the Valley, but for some before the settlement of the whites began, it seems to have been practically deserted by the Indians, with the exception of settlement of Shawnees at or near where Winchester now stands.(1)

Tribal Warfare.— Parties of Shawnees, as well as Delawares from the north, and Catawbias from the south, and Cherokees from the west, frequently traversed the Valley, even after the settlements of the white man, on hunting excursions or war expeditions. Tradition relates a number of engagements between the different tribes, especially the Delawares and Catawbias. Frequently one party would surprise another party even of greater numbers and completely exterminate them.(2)

Early Settlers Unmolested.— It is possible that these wars among themselves was part of the cause why they did not oppose the settling of the whites. Indians, entirely peaceable and

(1) Hist. of Valley, Kercheval, 41; Annals Augusta Co. Waddell, 17.

(2) History of the Valley, Kercheval, 35-40.

friendly, resided in the same neighborhood with the white settlers for a number of years. Sometimes, however, parties of Indians were an annoyance by demanding food, and occasionally killing hogs or cattle, thinking any animal running loose was as much theirs as anyone's. Several times western parties murdered some of the whites, but the settlers were, generally speaking, practically unmolested during the first quarter of a century of their residence in the Valley.(1) "Some," says Foote, "who had known war in Ireland, lived and died in that peace in this wilderness for which their hearts had longed in their native land."(2)

French and Indian War.- In 1753 the western Indians, instigated by the French, invited the Valley Indians to join them across the Alleghanies, and in the spring of 1754 all Indians suddenly and unexpectedly left the Valley and moved west. This was the first open step leading towards war, though the French had for several years been claiming all territory watered by tributaries of the Mississippi. The first conflicts, culminating in Braddock's defeat July 9, 1775 were in favor of the French and Indians, but afterwards the English began to gain ground until finally Ft. Duquesne was abandoned, and the French retreated farther west.(3)

Frontier Exposed.- After Braddock's defeat the whole frontier was left exposed to the incursions of the French and Indians, and for three years they carried on a most destruc-

(1) Ibid. 53, 68. (2) Annals Augusta Co., Waddell, 27.

(3) Ibid. 97; Hist. of the Valley, Kercheval, 68-70; Hist. of Va., Campbell, 469-481.

tive and cruel war upon the western Virginians. In 1758 Gen. Forbes with 6,000 men frightened the French and Indians and took Ft. Duquesne. Nevertheless, a predatory warfare was continued on the people of the Valley by hostile Indians and perhaps some French, after they had been driven from their strongholds.(1)

Failure of Expeditions.— Though several expeditions were organized under such leadership as that of George Washington, Andrew Lewis, Wm. Preston, Peter Hogg, Overton and others against the Indians, and forts were built along most of the frontier, the Indian incursions continued for a number of years, so that none of the people west of the Blue Ridge could feel absolutely safe from these night marauders.(2)

Indian Raids.— Many stories have come down to us of Indian raids showing their savage cruelty in such strong terms that it is almost impossible at this day and time to believe them; but the Indians were so intent on driving the white men back across "the big waters" that nothing their savage minds could think of was too cruel for them to carry out. Always at the time least expected there would be first the crack of a rifle dealing death to some loved one, and that followed by the blood-curdling war-whoop, and then the onrush of the painted demons, dealing death and destruction with the tomahawk. This could be expected at any time of the day or night--sometimes and perhaps most frequently just before dawn, but also at mid-

(1) Annals Augusta County, Waddell, 160-1; History of the Valley Kercheval, 71-72.

(2) Ibid.— Waddell, 93-205; Kercheval, 68-138, 382-7; Border Warfare, Withers.

night when all were sleeping, or it might be in broad day light when the men were working in the field, and the women and children unprotected at home. One could never be quite sure there was no lurking savage concealed within gun-shot ready to pounce upon him and his loved ones at the first unguarded moment. Though all these events are of thrilling interest, it will be impossible here to do more than give a fair sample of these outrages to show in a concrete way some of the anxiety, torture, and suffering that our ancestors endured to obtain homes in this Valley wilderness where they could worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. We take off our hats and bow in reverential awe at such heroism.

Raid on Kerr's Creek.— A small party of Indians numbering twenty-seven, descended upon Kerr's Creek July 17, 1763. The whole family of Charles Daugherty were surprised and murdered. Jacob Cunningham's wife ~~was~~ killed, and his daughter of ten years scalped and left for dead. She revived, however, was carried off as a prisoner in a later invasion, was redeemed, and lived for forty years afterwards. After killing a number of others including Thomas Gilmore and his wife, five in the home of Robert Hamilton and Mrs. John McKee, the Indians possible became frightened and hastened their departure, loaded with scalps and bounty, and unincumbered by prisoners. As far as known they made a complete escape without being assailed.(1)

Saved by Attending Church.— "From one cause," says Rev. Samuel Brown, "the lives of some were saved no doubt. A num-

(1) Annals Augusta County, Waddell, 171-2.

ber had gone that day to Timber Ridge church, where services were conducted by the Rev. John Brown. During the intermission between morning and evening sermons some alarm was given, but such reports were frequently started without foundation, and therefore not much attention was paid to this. The people went into the church for the second sermon, when a messenger arrived with the sad tidings from Kerr's Creek. All was immediately confusion and dismay. The congregation was dismissed, and fled in every direction it was thought would afford them safety."(1)

It would be interesting, if discretion permitted, to tell of the captivity and escape of Mrs. Inglis; the raid near Woodstock, and the torturing death of little Jacob Fisher; the captivity and escape of Hanna Dennis; the raid on the Cowpasture, etc. etc. And so we might go on with the dreadful story, and follow these merciless painted demons in their wild orgy of bloodshed to practically every community in the Valley and southwestern Virginia, for hardly did an entire community escape without some sorrowful knowledge of that savage yell and uninvited visit, always at the unexpected moment. Bouquet's Treaty concluded with the Shawnees and Delawares Nov. 9, 1764 stipulated that all white captives should be given up, and 206 were recovered, ninety of whom were Virginians, 32 men, and 58 women and children. However these treaties to not seem to have been kept for any length of time very strictly. Both Indians and lawless whites continued their depredations for a number of years.(2)

(1) Ibid. 172-3;

(2) Ibid. 199.

The Moore Family

This chapter would not be complete without something about the family of Capt. James Moore, that is of interest to every Presbyterian, and especially to Virginia Presbyterians.

Capt. Moore, with his family, moved in 1775 to Abb's Valley in the present County of Tazwell, which at that time was very isolated, but splendid pasture and hunting.(1)

There were occasional Indian scares but no great damage was done until September 1784, when James, about fourteen years old, the second son of Capt. Moore, was captured by Black Wolf, and carried to the Indian towns north of the Ohio where he was treated the same as others in the tribe.(2) The following April, at an Indian festival, he was bought by a French Trader, and taken to Canada, not far from Detroit, from where he succeeded in getting his first message through to his Father. During all these trials James often engaged in prayer, and found much comfort in it. The value of early religious instruction is very evident here. The good seed had been sown by his Presbyterian parental care, and now it bore fruit where it was much needed.(3)

Indian Attack.- In July 1786, Black Wolf again invaded Abb's Valley, this time at the head of about 40 warriors, and came close enough to spy on the house the evening of the 13th. The dogs were much excited, and the horses seemed to be frightened, but the Moores thought it was caused by the prowling of some wild animal, a bear or perhaps a panther,

(1) History of the Valley, Kercheval, 382; Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 507.

(2) History of the Valley, Kercheval, 382-4; Captives, 42-55.

(3) Captives, 54, 56-57.

and never thought of Indians. But early the next morning, July 14th, while each member of the family was occupied at his or her particular task, the fearful war-whoop was heard and the savages seen rushing towards the house. Two children were shot dead near the spring, and a third in the yard. Mary, about nine years old, had gone to call the men to breakfast, and hearing the alarm rushed back into the house, which was closed and barred just in time to prevent the savages entering. Capt. Moore was killed and scalped trying to get to the house. Mr. Simpson, a hired man, sick in bed up stairs, had been shot through the head, and the fierce dogs defending the door silenced. This left Mrs. Moore alone with four children and Martha Evans, a girl who had been helping her. In this trying moment, with the Indians cutting down the door with their tomahawks, she kneeled with her children, and having commended them all to God, rose, removed the bars from the door and gave herself and all that she had left up as captives.(1)

The Captive Journey.— On the second day out, John, a feeble lad, was murdered and scalped--the bloody scalp hanging at the belt of the murderer telling the story to the Mother. Also, because the infant girl was fretful, she was taken from the arms of her mother, her brains dashed out against a tree, and the lifeless body thrown away.(2) Truly now her cup of sorrow was full. Only the power of God could sustain her at such a time. However, her other two daughters, Jane and Mary with Martha Evans were spared her, and, after many sufferings and hardships, reached the Indian towns north of the Ohio.

(1) Captives, 62-67. (2) Ibid. 67-69, 75.

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(1) Captives, 62-67. (2) Ibid. 67-69, 75.

Death of Mrs. Moore and Jane.- A short time after their arrival, a war party of Cherokees halted there from an unsuccessful attack on some settlements in Pennsylvania, in which they had lost some of their party. They laid a plan to avenge their loss, by murdering these captives. To accomplish this, they commenced a drunken frolic, taking care to get the Shawnees dead drunk, but to keep in some measure sober themselves. This plan worked and Mrs. Moore and Jane became the victims of their diabolical schemes, but some of the Indian women suspecting their object, removed Mary and Martha, and secreted them at a distance from the town, until the Cherokees had gone. When they were brought back, Mary was shown the half burned bones of her mother and sister, who had most likely been put to the torture. With an Indian hoe Mary gathered the remaining bones from the ashes, then covered and rolled a stone over them.(1)

Mary Moore.- Mary was now an orphan among savages, with only Martha and a copy of the New Testament, which she had rescued from a bonfire the Indians had made of her father's furniture. Through her pious parents she had learned to love and value the Bible, and whatever else God may have suffered her to be deprived of, he did not permit His Word to be taken from her, for she kept this copy of the New Testament through her whole captivity. The old chief into whose family she had been adopted was kind to her, and often asked her to read to him. It is not likely he understood, but merely was amused "to hear the book speak." (2)

(1) Captives, 79-81; Hist. of Valley, Kercheval, 384-5.

(2) Captives, 82; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 511-2.

Return Home.- The following winter the Indians, having lost their provisions, made their way through the deep snow enduring many hardships and hunger to Detroit. Here in the Spring both Mary and Martha were sold to white men, and were shortly afterwards found by James. In August, 1788, Thomas Evans, a brother of Martha succeeded in locating them, after risking his life in search many times, and during the fall and winter brought them all safely back to friends.(1)

Martha Evans.- Martha married a Mr. Hummer, and gave two sons to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. Her last years were spent in the communion of the Presbyterian Church of Salem where she died in 1827.(2)

Marriage and Family of Mary Moore.- Mary made her home with an Aunt, and attended Falling Spring Church where she later joined. In October, 1798 she married Rev. Samuel Brown, pastor of New Providence Presbyterian Church. She became the mother of nine children who survived her--seven boys and two girls. She was left a widow in 1818, and met this additional care and responsibility in the strength of God, and was sustained. Like her husband, Mary never looked forward to a great material future for her children, but it was ever the anxious desire of her heart that they should be pious, and consecrate themselves to God's service. The result is not surprising.⁽³⁾ She was privileged to live to see one son licensed for the ministry by Lexington Presbytery, and a daughter married to Rev. James Morrison, who succeeded her

(1) History of the Valley, Kercheval, 385; Captives, 83-131.

(2) Captives, 133

(3) Ibid. 135-146.

husband as pastor of New Providence, which son-in-law was the comfort of her widowhood, and the guide of her young children. After her death in 1824, four other sons gave themselves to the ministry in the Presbyterian Church--all licensed by Lexington Presbytery. One of the other two sons became an Elder in New Providence, and the other was a beloved physician in Russelville, Tennessee. It was said of him in the brief obituary notice, "The widow, the orphan, and the poor will long remember him with gratitude." Her other daughter became the wife of Dr. Wm. A. Walker of Rogersville, Tennessee.(1)

Her body was laid to rest by that of her husband's in New Providence Cemetery, and is marked by a handsome tombstone.

(1) Captives, 146-168; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 521-2.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter X OLD VALLEY CHURCHES

We can with practical certainty date the origin of Presbyterianism in the Valley of Virginia as far back as 1719, but for about three-quarters of a century it is not possible to trace this history in detail with much certainty. We do know that when Presbyterian immigration once began it increased very rapidly, and we find that these early settlers brought their Bibles, Catechisms, and Confessions of Faith with them, and when a settlement was effected, measures were immediately taken to provide themselves with the ordinances of religion. The sacrifices which this required did not deter them. Commissioners were sent hundreds of miles, at great cost of time and money, "supplicating" Synod and Presbyteries to supply them with the ministrations ofth Word of God. And both Synod and Presbytery were diligent in meeting all appeals, so far as their limited resources would enable them to do it. The early records show that almost all the ministers of that day were engaged about half of their time in evangelistic work or supplying other fields of labor which extended from New York to North Carolina.(1)

It is our purpose here to give a brief sketch of some of

(1) Presby'sm in the N. Neck, Graham, 15-16.

the oldest Presbyterian Churches in the Valley, but it is discouraging to find that very little is definitely known of the early history of these churches because of the very scanty and imperfect records that were made of the earliest effort to establish in this region the Presbyterian system of doctrine, polity and worship, and because of the failure, in many instances, to preserve even such scant records as were made. The minutes of Synods and Presbyteries that have been preserved, are often so brief and meagre as to give us now no very distinct or satisfactory idea of the events recorded. Besides, whole volumes of Presbyterial records are hopelessly lost, while of sessional records not a line has been found.(1) The loss of the Second Volume of the Records of Donegal Presbytery covering nine years from 1750-1759, cuts us off from the most important source of information concerning the progress of Presbyterianism in the Valley during those years. The Synodical records contain, it is true, a great deal of information, which is valuable in showing the activity and enlargement of the church, but save in several instances, the minutes are so general in their statements as to give no definite information about the particular places seeking or receiving supplies. For these reasons the origin of Presbyterianism in the Valley, as well as in all Virginia is involved in much obscurity, as we have previously intimated, and we will not be able to give with any degree of certainty the dates of the organization of some of our churches,

(1) Ibid. 5-6

but we can, with tolerable accuracy, fix the time when most of them became Presbyterian places of worship.(1)

All of these churches were originally in Virginia, but when West Virginia was set off as an independent State it included the territory of some of these old churches, so that some of them in the lower end of the Valley and on the South Branch of the potomac are now in the bounds of that state. However, as these churches are so vitally connected in their early history with other Valley churches,^{and} are still in the Virginia Synod, we shall consider them along with the other Valley churches.

The Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, generally speaking, is divided into two presbyteries--Lexington, organized in 1786, and Winchester, organized in 1794. The latter, though the youngest Presbytery, embraces the oldest churches and will be taken up first.

I. Winchester Presbytery

The lower, or northern part of the Shenandoah Valley had grown sufficiently to be set off as a separate presbytery in 1794, and at the meeting of Synod in Harrisonburg, September 24, 1794, we find this minute regarding the constitution of Winchester Presbytery:(2)

"On motion it was proposed that the Synod should divide the Presbytery of Lexington and constitute another Presbytery of a portion of its members. The proposition was agreed to, and is as follows, Viz., That the dividing line between the Presbyteries of Lexington and Redstone shall begin on the Alleghany mountains where Hardy county is divided from Pendleton, running thence with the line dividing the counties until

(1) Ibid. 31. (2) MS. Records of the Synod of Virginia.

the same reaches the corner of Rockingham county, from thence a direct course to the place where the great road through Keezeltown to Winchester crosses the River Shenandoah, from thence to Swift Run gap on the Blue Ridge, which reaches the boundary of the Presbytery of Hanover. The members lying northeast of said division shall be constituted a Presbytery and be known by the name of the Presbytery of Winchester, consisting of the Rev. Moses Hoge, Hash Legrand, Wm. Hill, and John Lyle, and they shall hold their first meeting in the town of Winchester on the first Thursday of next December. Mr. Hoge, or in his absence, the next senior member present, shall preach a sermon on the occasion and preside until a Moderator is chosen...On motion, Mr. Wm. Williamson was added to the number mentioned in the above minute constituting the presbytery of Winchester."

"At the next meeting of Synod, Winchester, Sept. 30, 1795, (1) "Winchester reports that the Order of Synod respecting their first meeting had been punctually attended to and that they consist of five members, Viz., Hoge, pastor of Carmel Congregation (Shepherdstown); Legrand, Winchester, Opekin, and Cedar Creek; Wm. Hill, Charlestown and Hopewell; Wm. Williamson, South River and Flint Run; and John Lyle, Frankfort, Rumney, and Springfield. Vacancies, Middle Town, and Back Creek united, able to support a minister, Concrete, able, Powel's Fort and Lost River, not able."

Tuscarora and Falling Waters churches were under the supervision of Carlisle Presbytery at this time, and were not received under the care of Winchester Presbytery till 1804. Thus there were sixteen churches, eleven of them supplied by five ministers, and five vacant, that were under the supervision of the presbytery of Winchester at, or soon after, its constitution in 1794.

At present Winchester Presbytery has thirty-six ministers, one licentiate and fifty-seven churches under its care. (2)

Following we will give a brief Sketch of all those churches of Winchester Presbytery dating their origin back to the eighteenth century. This will include all the above named churches and several others, for some reason not reported at this time.

(1) Ibid. (2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 282.

1. Potomac

The name "Potomac" has been spelled at least three different ways in the minutes of Donegal and New Castle Presbyteries-- "Potomoke," "Patomoke," and "Potomack".(1) This slight difference in orthography is not to be wondered at because the correct spelling of geographical names was not fixed at a very early date, and even after this was done, it is easy to see how those who knew the word only by sound would be likely to spell it differently.(2)

Early Records.- "Potomoke" was the first organized Presbyterian church in Virginia after the death of Makemie. In the old records of the Synod of Philadelphia for Sept. 19, 1719, we find the this minute:(3)

"The Synod having received a letter from the people of Potomoke, in Virginia, requesting the Synod's care and diligence to provide them an able gospel minister to settle among them, it was appointed that the Rev. Mr. Daniel McGill should go and preach to that people in order to settlement upon mutual agreement, and that a letter be writ to said people by Masters Conn and Cross, and by them be brought into the Synod for approbation." This letter was brought in and approved on the 22nd, but we have no copy of it.

The next year, Sept. 22, 1720, we have this minute:(4) "Mr. McGill reported to the Synod, that according to last year's appointment, he went to Potomoke, in Virginia, and after some month's continuance there, put the people in church order."

Immediately after this it is added, "The said Congregation of Potomoke, in Virginia, have sent a letter to the Synod, manifesting their hearty approbation of Mr. McGill's conduct among them, and desiring his settling with them as their minister."

This request was deferred, and the next day turned over to the Committee for Bills and Overtures. If a report was made it is not recorded, and the name disappears from the minutes.(5)

(1) MS. Records New Castle Presbytery for Sept. 17, 1718.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 9.

(3) Rec. Synod of Phila. for above date.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

Location of Potomoke.- But where was "Potomoke, in Virginia?"

This question is very perplexing, yet the discovery of its location is a matter of great interest to the student of the history of early Presbyterianism in Virginia. Historians have sought earnestly for some clue. Some have tried to find it on the "Eastern Shore." Webster fixes upon Bladensburg, Md. Foote supposes it to have been in Fauquier or Loudon County. Davidson says that "no part of Virginia at that period answered so well the description as the region west of the Blue Ridge," and he believed it to be "identical with the congregations of Falling Waters and Tuscarora." Gillett positively asserts that it was "near the present town of Martinsburg, W.Va." Graham and White both place it at or near the present Shepherdstown.(1) Thus there is quite a difference of opinion, but in the light of later evidence it would seem that the latter are more nearly correct.(2)

1. That it was a place near yet distinct from the river of that name is evident not only because the Minutes of Synod and Presbytery so mention it, but also from the fact that in other official documents there is a place of that name distinctly mentioned. For Example, Gov. Spottswood, in a letter to the "Council of Trade," London, July 26, 1712, speaks of "the return of Baron De Graffenreid from Potomack," and clearly distinguishes between a place and the river of that name.(3)

2. De Graffenreid had evidently set out to visit "the forks

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 8; Also see History Pres. Church, Gillett, I, 107; and Southern Pres. Leaders, White, 32. (2) MS. Sketches of Chs. in Winchester Pres. 228-9.

(3) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 10.

of Potomack," but before reaching his destination he seems to have found a settlement called "Potomack" where he stopped long enough to exchange letters with the Governor. There is nothing in these letters that enables us to fix positively the location of Potomack, yet the facts and circumstances mentioned seem to place it at some point on the river well up towards its "head springs."(1)

3. The "Pack-Horse Ford," by which the early emigrants crossed the Potomac on entering the Valley, was at Shepherds-town, and it would be natural for an early settlement to be made at or near the ford. And such was the case as we saw from the inscription on a tombstone dated 1707 found about five miles south of Shepherdstown.(2)

4. The Records of Donegal Presbytery frequently associate Potomac with Opecquon, Bullskin, and Tuscarora as a church to be supplied at the same time with them and by the same minister.(3) For example, June 12, 1745, "Mr. Caven is appointed to supply Potomac, Opecquon and Bullskin according to conveniency until our next."(4) This makes it evident that it was in easy reach of these well-known churches, and therefore, somewhere in the northern part of the Valley.

5. Though the name "Potomoke, in Virginia" disappears from the Synod's records after 1720, the expression, "the people of Virginia" frequently appears afterwards until 1724 when they were referred to New Castle Presbytery, in which minutes

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) MS. Records of Donegal Presbytery, above date.

Wm. McMillain being ordained to supply "the people of Virginia" Sept. 18, 1724.(1) In the early records of Donegal Presbytery, which was formed out of New Castle in 1732, the name "Potomack in Virginia" occurs as an established place of worship. It is reasonable to suppose that we have here another and more correct spelling for "Potomoke, in Virginia." (2) The last mention of this name in the Donegal Records is for Aug. 31, 1762, when Mr. McGan is "ordered to supply Tuscarora and Potomack in Virginia the first two Sabbaths in March." What then became of this church so suddenly? Did it vanish never to be heard of again? The answer seems to be found in these same records for October 1768, when we find the name of Shepherdstown, and the next Spring in April 1769, the name of Elk Branch, both for the first time, but as places of unusual importance. Elk Branch was soon strong enough to call and settle Rev. John McKnight as its pastor, and Shepherdstown seems able to have procured its own supplies until Rev. Moses Hoge was obtained as pastor. A reasonable explanation which meets all known conditions of the case, is that the "Potomoke" Church, planted by Daniel Magill in 1719 or 1720, continued to flourish until sometime between 1763 and 1767, when it became advisable to divide it. In this division the old name "Potomack" was dropped, and the name "Shepherdstown," by which the village was now called, was given the church in the village, and "Elk Branch" the one in the country.(3)

(1) MS. Records New Castle Presby.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 8-9.

(3) MS. Records Donegal Pres.; Given in Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 32-33.

6. But besides all this evidence we have a direct and positive testimony. Graham tells us, "A gentleman residing in Winchester, Virginia, in 1891 and nearly ninety years of age, but in full possession of his mental faculties, whose youth was spent near Shepherdstown, testified that, in his boyhood, the common name for the village, through the surrounding country was "Potomac."(1)

These considerations and facts seem to be practically conclusive in determining the location of the church called "Potomoke(or Potomack) in Virginia," and fixes the place of the first duly constituted Presbyterian Church in the Valley of Virginia, at or near Shepherdstown, now in West Virginia.

2. Shepherdstown

Though this town was established by law in 1762 as "Mecklenberg," this name was soon dropped in favor of "Shepherdstown," so called in honor of Capt. Thomas Shepherd, who laid it off on his own land. It entertained the Synod of Virginia in 1799, and has the remarkable distinction of being "the place where the first steamboat was constructed and navigated!"(2)

This church, as we have seen, is first mentioned in church records October 1768 "supplicating for supplies." In response Messrs. Slemons and Balch were ordered to supply them. The next Spring, April 11, 1769 they again ask for supplies and then the name disappears from the records for fourteen years, during which time they likely had a stated supply of their own.

(1) Presby'sm in Norther Va., Graham, 11. (2) Ibid.63-64.

In April 1783 they again occur asking for "supplies to be divided equally between Shepherdstown and Elk Branch." As Rev. John McKnight had just resigned from Elk Branch at this time, it is likely that he supplied Shepherdstown during his pastorate there of about seven years. In 1787 they again appear asking supplies from the new Presbytery of Carlisle.(1)

Moses Hoge.-- In the autumn of this same year, 1787, Moses Hoge settled at Shepherdstown and began a distinguished and successful pastorate of twenty years.(2)

Mr. Hoge was born in Frederick County, Virginia, Feb. 15, 1752, the ninth son of James Hoge, an elder in the Opecquon Church, and grandson of Wm. Hoge who came from Scotland and settled near the head of the Opecquon Creek in 1735. The sentiment expressed in "Sanctified learning is the greatest blessing; unsanctified learning is the greatest curse," spoken by S.S. Smith, sank deep into his heart, and at an early age he gave his heart to Christ, decided to study for the ministry, and determined to be ~~am~~ of learning. While working on his father's farm, he would fasten a book to the plow, and at the end of each furrow would read a paragraph and fix the contents in mind while he followed the team across the field. He later became a student at Liberty Hall Academy, and was licensed to preach in 1781. In 1789 he was sent by Lexington Presbytery as its first commissioner to the first meeting of the General Assembly. When the Presbytery of Winchester was formed, he was appointed by the Synod to preach the opening sermon and

(1) MS. Sketches of Chs. of Winchester Presby. 207; Presby'sm in Northern Virginia, Graham, 64-65.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 65.

preside. He was then chosen the first Moderator and also the first Stated Clerk of the Presbytery, and also sent as its first commissioner to the General Assembly of 1795. In 1807 he was elected president of Hampden-Sydney College, and resigned his pastorate at Shepherdstown to accept. He died July 5, 1820, while attending General Assembly in Philadelphia, and his body still lies in the burying ground of the Third Presbyterian Church of that city.(1)

Mr. Hoge ranked easily with the ablest of his time, and his memory has been kept alive through many generations by the succession of learned and eloquent preachers who have descended from him. His co-presbyter, Rev. Joseph Glass, said of him: "In writing his history I should not know how to begin; beginning it, I should not know how to end. It was not that he was unlike other men, but that he was always like himself; not that he was zealously engaged in doing good to-day, but that in doing good he was zealously engaged every day; not that he performed duty, but that he never tired in performing it; not that he put his hand to the plow, but that he never looked back; not that he knew how to do good, but that he knew not how to do harm: and it was on a foundation, composed of these singular materials, that he erected the monument of an unspotted life. It is from the top of this monument that his spirit looks down upon the insignificance of conquerors and kings, and proclaims to the world that the love of God is more durable than polished brass."(2)

(1) Ibid. 65-69; Southern Pres. Leaders, White, 193-198.

(2) Given in Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 69.

Elders.- John Carsley (or Hearsley) was appointed commissioner to the Assembly Oct. 26, 1790, and Peter Martin attended Presbytery at Charles Town, Oct. 8, 1795.(1)

The church is in a flourishing condition today with 124 active members. Rev. J.W.Witherspoon is pastor.(2)

3. Elk Branch

This church, as we have seen, first appears on the records April 11, 1769 as a prominent and fully organized church. For the next seven years they ask and receive supplies at almost every meeting. In April 1776 they called Licentiate John McKnight as pastor, who accepted, and was ordained at a meeting of Presbytery at Elk Branch Dec. 3, 1776.(3) McKnight resigned in 1782, and the next April they join with Shepherds-town, as we have noted, asking for supplies. This is significant, as showing the influence of old associations. After this supplication, Elk Branch drops completely out of the records for about forty years. However, the Presbyterian History of this church states that Donegal Presbytery continued to supply Elk Branch until 1792, when, by consent of the people, at the house of Peter Martin, they were divided, one part with its Elders and people, going to the Shepherds-town Church, and the other united in forming the new church in the new town of Charlestown. The church was reorganized under the same name Dec.14, 1833, and today has 51 members.(4)

(1) MS.Rec. Lexington Pres. (2)Minutes Gen.Assem.1931,p.282.

(3) Presby'sm in Northern Va.,Graham, 70-71; MS. Sketches of Chs. of Winchester Pres., 57.

(4) Ibid. Graham, 74, and Sketches, 59; Min.Gen.As.1931,281.

4. Opecquon

The name of this church has also been spelled a number of ways--at least twenty-four different spellings are found in the Church records: e.g. "Opekan," "Opickon," "Upikin," etc. In this work we shall follow Foote's Sketches of Virginia, II, and Graham's Northern Virginia--"Opecquon" (ō-pěk'-ōn).

Early Ministers.-- The first minister to preach at Opecquon was Rev. Samuel Gelston of New Castle Presbytery in 1735, and the next year "both parts of Opekan" (i.e. Opecquon proper and Cedar Creek, which were associated in one pastoral charge for nearly 100 years) applied to Presbytery for his ministerial services, and he was appointed to visit them. In 1737 Rev. James Anderson visited Opecquon, at which time it is likely that he organized the "Old Opecquon Church." Following this they ask or receive supplies at practically every meeting of Presbytery until 1745, and we find John Thompson, John Craig, Samuel Cavin, Wm. Robinson, and others supplying them occasionally.(1)

John Hoge.-- Rev. John Hoge was called to the Opecquon field in 1754 and remained there as pastor for eighteen years. Though he was not a native of Virginia, yet he was closely related to that congregation by family ties--a cousin of Moses Hoge, and a grand-son of Wm. Hoge who settled on upper Opecquon and gave the land on which the meeting house was built. He was graduated from Nassau Hall in 1749, and was a candidate for the ministry under the care of New Castle (New Side) Presbytery.

(1) Presbyterianism in Northern Virginia, Graham, 18-21.

Though he was discouraged from entering on his trials for licensure, "lest his genius should not be fit for the ministry," ~~but~~ he persevered in his purpose, stood his trials, was licensed Oct. 10, 1753, and in 1755 was ordained and "settled" over Opecquon and Cedar Creek. His ministry, though successful, had its discouragements. The condition of things was unsettled and often alarming. His meagre salary was poorly paid, and his relation with these churches was finally dissolved in April 1772 on account of non-payment of salary.(1)

At the time of Mr. Hoge's settlement, Opecquon was the most important church in the valley, and for a number of years it was the only place of public worship within a large district. The first and even second house of worship that stood here was of wood, and later a stone building was erected. A great multitude of people came for miles on foot and horseback through the forests every Sunday to sit "in the church in the midst of the grove of oak trees" to listen to the gospel from Hoge's lips. When George Washington took command of the Virginia soldiers in that section he often rode to Opecquon and joined in their worship.(2) During the Old and New Side Schism 1745-1758, though Donegal Presbytery was thoroughly identified with the Old Side, some of its congregations south of the Potomac were in sympathy with the New Side, among which were Opecquon, Cedar Creek, and others.(3)

Supplies.- For nine years after the resignation of Mr. Hoge,

(1) MS. Sketches of Winchester Presby. Chs., 233; Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 26-28.

(2) Ibid. Sketches, 104-7, 170, and Graham, 26-27; and Southern Pres. Leaders, White, 66. (3) Pres. Northn. Va., Graham, 22-23.

covering the exciting period before and during the Revolution, the church depended upon supplies appointed by Presbytery, or obtained by the casual visits of evangelists. Mr. Hoge, who retained his residence there for several years, seems to have been their main reliance for the first three of these years. Among other ministers supplying them were Hugh Vance, John McKnight, Amos Thompson, John Slemons, etc.(1)

Philip V. Fithian.— Among the Evangelists visiting them was Rev. Philip V. Fithian, a native of New Jersey, and graduate of Princeton in 1772. He was a man of unusual gifts, and had a wonderfully clear and accurate insight into human character. His journal gives one of the most instructive and attractive pictures of domestic and social life at that time in Virginia anywhere to be found. He visited the Valley during the exciting times of 1775 by commission of Synod. In his diary he speaks as follows of Opecquon:(2)

"Sunday, May 28. Opickon Church. A large and genteel society, mostly Irish. I preached two sermons; the people very attentive....

"May 31. Mr. Glass was blessed while he was filling up his family, so far as to have eight daughters in continual succession and but three sons. I visited a brother of his a mile off at the head of Opickon Creek, a solid, lusty farmer...Several visits we made today, among others to one Colville. He is clerk for the Society, raises the tune and in the primitive genuine Presbyterian whine and roll, begins the first note of the music with a deep strained guttural from the last word of the reading, without any intermissions. This, however, in these societies is universal. I am here under the necessity of close study, as the people do not allow of reading sermons

"Sunday, June 11. (Opecquon.) A numerous assembly. Mr. Hoge present. He is a lusty well made man. Capt. Holmes introduced me to him, and he received me kindly. Invited me to the session house, and home with him after worship...Several store-keepers

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 33-4.

(2) Given in Ibid. 34-5.

and people of note were out from Winchester, many members of the English Church, and all gave good attention. Sometimes, at particular sentences, I could observe every eye to be fixed, and the whole house in silence. Then when the sentiments cooled, one would cough, another would ogle some woman, ^{Third} would take snuff, etc. After sermon I rode home with Mr. Hoge. He is remarkably chatty, and in some cases facetious, has the reputation, I believe, justly, of a sound, well meaning man. I grieve for his present state; he has a large family, no way of supporting it, has been dismissed from this Society near three years. He is anxious of being re-instated, and is jealous of my having an intention to supplant him.

"Monday, June 12. The opinion of his politicks is blank. He rode with me to Mr. Glass'. Mr. Glass gave me for my sermons five dollars and many thanks. He proposed I should stay with them a year on trial, but I objected on Mr. Hoge's case."

Calls.— Opecquon had now become a large and vigorous church, and tiring of the uncertain supplies, they decided to call a pastor. Accordingly a number of calls were made--among them, one presented by "Opaken and Cedar Creek" April 14, 1774, to Rev. James Waddell, and declined.(1) After several other unsuccessful attempts, a call was made Oct. 23, 1781 for Rev. John Montgomery, and accepted. It is interesting to note that "Winchester" as well as Cedar Creek is included in this call.(2)

John Montgomery.— Mr. Montgomery was a native of Augusta County, and of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His parents were prominently identified with New Providence Church. He prepared for college in a school which his father helped to found, and was graduated at Princeton in 1775.(3) In the fall of that year he was appointed assistant to Rev. Wm. Graham at Liberty Hall Academy. Here he decided to study for the ministry, and was received on trials by Hanover Presbytery Oct. 31, 1777. He continued to teach while pursuing his theological studies under

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presby. (2) Ibid. Also Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 35.

(3) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 35-36.

Mr. Graham, was licensed Oct. 28, 1778, and ordained April 27, 1780.(1) The next year he was settled over Opecquon, Cedar Creek, and Winchester, where he continued to minister, greatly beloved by his people and much blessed in his work, until 1789,(2) when he resigned and moved to land he had inherited on Big Calf Pasture, in Augusta County, Here he remained as pastor of Lebanon and Rocky Spring churches until his death, after considerable ill health, in 1818, and was buried at the Rocky Spring church. He was the father of eleven children--"about the canonical number in that day."(3)

It is interesting to note that instead of having his membership transferred to Donegal Presbytery when he accepted the call to Opecquon, etc., these churches in some way had their Presbyterial relations transferred to Hanover Presbytery.(4)

Nash Legrand.-- Mr. Montgomery was succeeded by Rev. Nash Legrand in October 1790. Mr. Legrand was a descendant of the French Huguenots, who settled at Manakin town on James River about the year 1700. He was born in Prince Edward County, and graduated from Hampden-Sidney in 1788. He entered college to study medicine, and unhappily was profane in language, vicious in habits, and given to indulgence in frolicsome pranks. Upon hearing of Legrand's conversion, the College steward was heard to say, "I am in hopes now, I may have hogs which can walk upon four legs."(5)

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery, Oct. 21, 1789.

(3) MS. Sketches Winchester Presbytery Churches, 39; also Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 36. (4) Ibid. Graham.

(5) MS. Sketches Winchester Presby. Chs., 41; also Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 530-531.

Legrand's Conversion.-- His conversion in the great revival of 1787-8 is worth notice here. Reports of conversions of his college mates rendered him uneasy, and it happened about this time that Rev. Drury Lacy was put to sleep in his room. Legrand was restless and could not sleep. Discovering Mr. Lacy was awake, he asked him, "what would become of a man who had led a vicious life, and had determined to reform, and had broken off from wicked practices, and commenced to seek religion, but had not yet attained it; if he should die in that state?" Mr. Lacy replied: "If that be all, he must go to hell and be damned with the rest of the wicked world...It is not he that seeks religion, but he that gets it that shall be saved; for many in the great day shall seek to enter in and shall not be able." "If that be so," said Legrand, "there is no time for me to be loitering in my bed." He instantly arose, retired to the garden, and spent the remainder of the night in groans, lamentations, and prayers to God for pardoning mercy. The next evening he attended a prayer meeting, and ^{at} length fell prostrate on the floor, silent and apparently insensible. He was lain upon a bed and remained without moving a muscle till daylight, during which time the other young men continued conversing, singing and praying. About dawn he began to move, set up, arose and began praising God for the great things he had done for him; and seemed full of joy and love to God, to his friends and to all creatures. Looking at the rising sun, he declared it possessed beauties hitherto unseen by him, and all creation was clothed with new charms.

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 531-3.

Legrand's Career.- Sudden conversions were looked upon somewhat with suspicion, but the change in Legrand was consistent, a visible change in principle, feeling and conduct. He gave up his desire for medicine, and began preparation for the ministry. He studied Theology under J.B.Smith and was licensed by Hanover Presbytery April 25, 1789. Immediately he began a career of great success as an evangelist, preaching in many fields. By appointment he visited Opecquon, Cedar Creek, and Winchester in the Spring of 1790. Almost immediately they gave him a call, which he later accepted and took up the work there in October of that year, 1790.(1) He was ordained by Hanover Presbytery April 15, 1791, and the following October dismissed to Lexington Presbytery. He remained the distinguished pastor of these churches for nineteen years, when ill health compelled him to resign. In October 1809 he was dismissed to Hanover Presbytery, where he labored, as his health would allow, in vacant churches and destitute neighborhoods, but never again accepted the responsibility of a pastorate.(2) He was married twice--by the first he was blessed with five children, and by the second with wealth. He died in 1814 while visiting his old friends in the Valley, and was buried in the Old Stone Church Cemetery in Winchester.(3)

Legrand, The Man.- Mr. Legrand was a remarkable handsome man, tall and spare, yet well proportioned, with dark brown hair, high forehead, open countenance, expressive eye, melodious voice, and graceful manner. (4) His preaching was un-

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 534-537. (2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 37. (3) Ibid, 37-38. (4) Ibid. 38.

usually attractive. His comely person, graceful gestures, and especially the music and modulation of his voice were admirably fitted to the pulpit and attracted attention in themselves. In addition, the deep and all-pervading impressions of godliness with which his soul was imbued, created an atmosphere about him which all felt. He lived near to God, and enjoyed his religion. He excelled in prayer as one who lived near the throne, and was always conscious of the presence of his Saviour. In the pulpit all these things imparted such an unction to his sermons, that few could hear him without being moved. No minister of his day was so much sought after by men, or so much honored of God as Legrand. No wonder then, that under his ministry Opecquon saw its best days. Delighted crowds attended his services. The waning piety of God's people was rekindled, inquiry was awakened, and rich spiritual harvests were gathered. It was soon found that the meeting-house was not large enough, and the old log building which had already supplanted a smaller one, was taken down and the commodious stone church, which was destroyed by fire in 1873, was built; and on pleasant Sundays was filled from door to pulpit.(1)

Elders.— The name of Maj. Robert White occurs several times on the records as an Elder of Opecquon Church.(2)

Rev. Guy M. Morrow is their present pastor and they have seventy-five members.(3)

(1) Ibid. 38; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 535-6.

(2) MS.Rec.Lexington Presbytery, Oct. 20, 1787 & Oct.26, 1790.

(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.282.

5. Cedar Creek

This church is located on Cedar Creek, about nine miles south-west of the Opecquon Church. It was first settled by some of Joist Hite's party who were probably Presbyterians. True to their religious instincts, one of their first efforts was to provide themselves with a church. Because of their intimacy and proximity to Opecquon, they naturally joined forces with them in their efforts to secure the ordinances of the Gospel. For about one hundred years these two settlements were so closely united in their church relation that the history of Opecquon as just given is substantially the history of Cedar Creek. They were the same race of people, had similar tastes, held to the same religious doctrines, and the preacher that pleased one always seemed to be satisfactory to the other.(1)

Occurence on Records.- Cedar Creek is most likely included in the phrase, "both sides of the Opecquon," which applied for the services of Rev. Samuel Gelston in 1736. The name first occurs in the records of the Synod of New York for May 18, 1748, when "Cedar Creek and Opeken" ask for supplies(2) It is first mentioned in Donegal minutes in connection with its failure to meet its obligation to its pastor. In their call to Mr. Hoge, Opecquon was to pay £45 and Cedar Creek £25. These sums probably indicate the comparative financial ability as well as the membership of the two churches.(3)

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Virginia, Graham, 47.

(2) Ibid; Records Synod of New York for above date, p.236.

(3) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 48.

Cedar Creek joined with Opecquon and Winchester in calling John Montgomery, which he accepted and remained until Oct. 21, 1789. May 6, 1790, they join with the same churches in calling Nash Legrand, (1) which he accepted, and remained until October 1809. (2) For more details see Sketch of Opecquon church.

Elders. - The names of some of the first Elders are found in a deed given by Lord Fairfax in 1762, "conveying 100 acres of land to Wm. Vance, Wm. Evans, James Colville, James Hogg, and Andrew Blackburn, elders of the Presbyterian congregation (of Cedar Creek) and their successors, for building a meeting house thereon." (3) This was most likely the second building erected, which was later replaced by the stone edifice.

Fithian's Journal. - We find some interesting things in Fithian's famous Journal, made of his trip to the Valley in 1775, as we have noted above. Concerning Cedar Creek he says: (4)

"Sunday, June 4. Cedar Creek Church, six miles from Stephensburg, northwest. All here are full Quakers. I preached twice; the assembly very attentive. I made little use of my notes, which is a vast, almost essential recommendation here. Preach without your papers; produce casuistic divinity; seem earnest and serious, and you will be listened to with patience and wonder. Both your hands will be seized, and almost shook off so soon as you are out of the church, and you will be claimed by half of the society to honor them with your company after sermon. Read your sermons, and if they be sound and sententious as Witherspoons, copious and fluent as Harvey's, and read off with the ease and dignity of Davies, their backs will be up at once, their attention all gone, their noses will grow red as their wigs; and (let me whisper this) you may get your dinner where you breakfasted. 'Please keep your seats,' said an old gray-headed gentleman when worship was concluded. He took off his hat and made a collection." This collection was given to Fithian the next day and amounted to three dollars. There were thirty-four pieces of silver.

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover Pres. (2) MS. Rec. Lexington Pres.
(3) MS. Sketches Winchester Presbytery Churches, 39.
(4) Presby'sm, in Northern Va., Graham, 49.

The present church has only forty members with Rev. A. Jones as pastor.(1) This does not mean that Presbyterianism is losing out in this section, but merely that their membership is held in the larger centers.

6. Winchester

Although Winchester contained some settlements as early as 1738, became an incorporated town in 1752, and at the time of the Revolution had about 800 inhabitants, it was without a distinct Presbyterian organization until September 7, 1800. However, there were many Presbyterians in Winchester, but they held their membership at Opecquon, three miles distant, and regularly worshipped there until about the beginning of the last quarter of the century, when Presbyterian services were occasionally held in the town.(2)

Because of the attitude of the English Church towards Presbyterians in particular, all of the oldest Presbyterian churches in the Valley were located in the country districts. This prevented conflicts with parish ministers.

The name of Winchester first appears in Presbyterian records for October 1779, when Mr. McKnight was appointed to supply there.(3) By Oct. 23, 1781 it had become important enough to join with Opecquon and Cedar Creek in the call extended to Mr. Montgomery.(4) From this time until a separate organization was effected, Winchester is always associated with the

(1) Minutes Gen. Assem., 1931, p. 281.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 97, 99. (3) Ibid. 99.

(4) MS. Records Hanover Pres.

Opecquon group as a place of prominent importance.

The Old Stone Building.-- Mr. Montgomery remained pastor until 1789,(1) during which time the church made satisfactory progress, so much so in numbers, that it was necessary to make arrangements for a larger building. The old stone church at the end of Piccadilly street, is the house that was then built. It was ready for use in 1790, and the Synod of Virginia met in it that fall. Though no longer used for Presbyterian worship, this old building is of unusual historical interest. Besides the distinguished men who, as pastors, have occupied its pulpit--Legrand, Hill, Riddle, etc.--nearly all the famous Presbyterian ministers of our country from 1790-1834 have preached within its walls. The General Assembly met there in 1799--the only place out of Philadelphia, with one other exception, that venerable court ever met for a period of almost fifty years. The Synod of Virginia met in it about twelve times. During one of these Synods Archibald Alexander was licensed to preach. In it also the Presbytery of Winchester was organized, though the church itself was not organized until six years afterwards. Nash Legrand, who succeeded Montgomery as pastor in 1790, was the first to occupy its pulpit.(2)

As early as 1791 they began to desire more frequent service than the pastor of Opecquon and Cedar Creek could give them, and Sept. 29, 1791 they joined with Cool Spring (Gerradstown) in calling Joseph Caldwell, a licentiate, which he ac-

(1) MS. Rec. Lexington Pres. Oct. 21, 1789.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 100-101; MS. Sketches of Churches of Winchester Presby., 109.

cepts April 24, 1792. Then there were two pastors--Legrand and Caldwell, but this co-pastorate developed into some difficulties, and Caldwell seems to have dropped out.(1) Legrand remained their pastor until about 1797, when they were reported vacant to the Synod.(2) They then present calls to several northern men, all of which were declined.(3) In 1800 they called Rev. Wm. Hill, of Charlestown, who promptly accepted and remained their faithful pastor for thirty-four years.(4)

Dr. F.T.McFaden is their present pastor and their membership is 924.(5)

7. Bullskin

Bullskin is a tributary of the Shenandoah River, and tradition tells us that it was so named by the first settlers who found on the bank of the stream a buffalo bull hide of enormous size stretched out to dry. The ruins of the old church are, or were until recently, on the hill about 150 yards north of its head spring.(6)

We first find Bullskin mentioned in the Records of Donegal Presbytery for April 2, 1740, when Mr. Cavin is ordered "to visit Bullskin on the third Sabbath of this inst." After this it occurs rather frequently asking and receiving supplies from Presbytery until 1791, when they united with Charlestown and Hopewell in a call for Wm. Hill, who accepted, and was settled as their pastor at a meeting of Presbytery there May

(1) MS. Rec. Lexington Pres. (2) MS. Rec. Va. Synod, Sept. 27, 1797.
(3) MS. Rec. Winchester Pres, Apr. 27, & Sept. 27, 1798, Sep. 24, 1799.
(4) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 101; MS. Sketches of Churches of Winchester Presby., 113.
(5) Minutes Gen. As., 1931, p. 281. (6) Northern Va., Graham, 39.

30, 1792.(1) After Wm. Hill's release from this charge May 15, 1799, the old place of worship at the head of Bullskin seems to have been abandoned, and the house crumbled into ruins.(2) That such a place should cease to exist is accounted for by the fact, that services began to be held at other more central places. It is most likely that most of them went to Charlestown.

8. Charlestown.

Charlestown is named after Col. Charles Washington, brother of George, on whose land the town was laid out. This name first occurs on the records asking Carlisle Presbytery for supplies in 1787. There were most likely Presbyterians here before this, who had been attending worship either at Bullskin or Elk Branch, both of which were near.(3)

Lot and Building.- In this same year, 1787, they purchased from Charles Washington, for "£20 current money of Virginia," a piece of land in the south-western part of Charlestown, on which to build a Presbyterian Church. The deed for this property was signed and delivered Feb. 17, 1787, which original deed was found in the office of the clerk of Berkeley County in 1885. It was made "to David Kennedy, John White, Peter Burr, and Jacob Conchlin (farmers)," "at the suit, and for the use of the Charlestown congregation of Presbyterians." A small stone church was erected on this lot, which was replaced by a more commodious stone structure in the early part of the

(1) MS. Rec. Lexington Pres.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 41. (3) Ibid. 105-6.

nineteenth century. This in turn was replaced by a large and handsome church in 1852.(1)

Receive Supplies.- After 1787 they seem to have received supplies with a good deal of regularity, and must have soon had some kind of an organization among themselves. In 1791, as we have seen, they joined with Bullskin and Hopewell and secured the services of Wm. Hill, who must have been attracted there because of opportunities rather than the size of the churches.(2)

William Hill.- Wm. Hill was of English Ancestry, the son of Joseph Hill, of Cumberland County, Va., where he was born March 3, 1769. His preparatory work was under the influence of Drury Lacy; and while in college under John Blair Smith, he made a public profession of Christ, and decided for the ministry. He was graduated from Hampden-Sidney in 1788, and after his licensure by Hanover Presbytery, July 10, 1790, he entered upon missionary work under the Commission of Synod, and visited most of the missionary fields in the State.(3)

Though numerous calls were urged upon him, he accepted the call to Charleston, etc, and was ordained and settled there Sept. 26, 1792.(4) In October of that year, he married Nancy Morton, of Charlotte Co., Va., with whom he lived in tenderest affection for almost sixty years. Her death in May, 1851, preceded his own by only eighteen months.(5)

He left Charlestown in 1800, to undertake missionary work

(1) Ibid. 106.

(2) Ibid. 106-7.

(3) Ibid. 107, 109. (4) MS. Rec. Synod of Virginia.

(5) Presbyterianism in Northern Virginia, Graham, 107.

west of the Ohio River, but before his departure he was prevailed upon by a unanimous call to settle in Winchester, where he remained until 1834, at which time he resigned and removed to Prince Edward County. After preaching for a while at Old Briery, and supplying the Second Church in Alexandria for several years, he returned to his old home in Winchester where he died Nov. 16, 1852. His body was laid to rest in Mt. Hebron Cemetery.(1)

Dr. Hill was a man of commanding personality. Above the average height, and finely proportioned, his appearance, even in old age, was imposing. His vigorous intellect, impressive oratory, and skill in debate, made him a power in all the courts of the church. In 1819 he was moderator of the General Assembly, and during his long life was the recipient of many honors from his church.(2)

Elk Branch Church Divided.-- In 1792, the Elk Branch Church which had been for sometime vacant, was partitioned between Charlestown and Shepherdstown, adding materially to both churches.(3)

Elders.-- Only one of the old Elders is known--John White, who attended Synod, Sept. 26, 1792.(4)

The present pastor is Dr. G.G.Sydnor, and the membership is 495.(5)

9. Tuscarora.

Tuscarora Church is located about three miles west of Martinsburg on the Tuscarora Creek. Tradition places this

(1) Ibid. 107. (2) Ibid. 107-8. (3) Ibid. 109.
(4) MS.Rec.Synod of Va. (5) Minutes Gen.Assem.1931, p.282.

church among the earliest churches in the Valley, and it can hardly be questioned that they were organized for worship not later than 1745, though its name does not occur in Church records until April 6, 1760. At this time it was evidently an established place of worship of considerable importance. Two years later, April 26, 1762 they join with Falling Waters in asking "for laborers for some time to come." After this they successfully supplicate for supplies at almost every meeting of Presbytery until 1770, and unsuccessful calls were made for Robert Cooper and John McCreary.(1)

They united with Falling Waters, or Back Creek, and perhaps both (the records are confusing here) in October 1770 and called Hugh Vance, ^{who} ~~which~~ he accepted. Tuesday Aug. 21, 1771, Presbytery met at Tuscarora Church, ordained Mr. Vance, and installed him pastor of Tuscarora and Falling Waters churches. This is the first recorded meeting of Donegal Presbytery south of the Potomac River. Mr. Vance remained pastor of Tuscarora and one or both of these other churches for about twenty years, or until his death in 1792.(2)

In April 1793, they united with Falling Waters in a call for Rev. John Boyd, who accepted, and April 9, 1794 was ordained and installed pastor of these churches, and remained until April 16, 1801. At this time Tuscarora was a strong and thriving church, but after a few years it was greatly weakened by the colony set off to form the Martinsburg church, as well as by

(1) MS. Sketches of Chs. of Winchester Presby., 214, 232; Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 51-52.

(2) Ibid. Graham, 52-54.

emigration.(1) Rev. J.L.Rogers is the present Pastor and its membership is only twenty-five.(2)

10. Martinsburg.

This is one of the oldest towns in the Valley, and was named after Col.T.B.Martin, a nephew of Lord Fairfax.(3)

The Martinsburg Church, a child of Tuscarora, is first mentioned in the minutes of Presbytery in 1792, when "supplications from Tuscarora for themselves, and for Martinsburg, and Back Creek" were presented to Carlisle Presbytery. However, Presbyterian worship may have been held there much earlier. The prevailing custom, as seen at Winchester, Charlestown, etc., was to plant the first church in the country, and the people from the towns went there for worship. These town members, as soon as practicable arranged for worship at home. Beginning with a weekly prayer meeting, an occasional sermon would soon be secured and at length a regular appointment for worship would

(1) Ibid. 54. (2) Minutes Gen. As, 1931, p.282.

(3) Presby'sm in Northern Va, Graham, 110-111. In the minutes of Synod for May 19, 1785, we find this interesting minute, which was most likely introduced by Thomas Martin of Martinsburg, Va., "The following question, referred to Synod by the Presbytery of Donegall for their decision, was brought in by the committee of overtures, viz: 'Whether, on full proof of adultery by one party, the Presbytery has a right to declare the marriage so far void as that the innocent party may marry again without being liable to church censure?' And after some time spent in debating the case...the vote was put, and carried in the affirmative, by a small majority." (Rec. Pres. Church, 509-510) This matter may have no direct connection with the Martinsburg Church, but is given here to show how our church sometimes thought and acted. Seventeen years before this the Presbytery of Donegal had "judged that a Presbytery could absolve a church member from his covenant of marriage," and the Synod had then taken exception to this action. (Given in Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 111)

be made. We find that Mr. Hill preached in Martinsburg Sabbath evening, Sept. 19, 1791, and there is no intimation that the service was anything unusual. John Boyd, the pastor of Tuscarora and Falling Waters (1793-1801) had Martinsburg as one of his regular preaching places. The church was not formally organized until Dec. 24, 1824.(1) Rev. S.R.Diehl is the present pastor, and the membership is 445.(2)

11. Back Creek. (Tomahawk)

Back Creek from which the church gets its name is between Little and Big North Mountain, flowing to the Potomac. The church is on the west side of the creek, near Tomahawk Spring, and seven or eight miles west of Martinsburg. Tradition assigns an early settlement to Back Creek Valley, and largely by the Scotch-Irish.(3)

The name of this church is first found in the same minute of Donegal that "Tuscarora in Virginia" first occurs, April 6, 1760; and it too appears as a place accustomed to receive supplies. For ten years Presbytery furnished them repeatedly with supplies in connection with either Tuscarora or Falling Waters, with which churches its associations have always been intimate.(4)

In October 1770 they joined Falling Waters and possibly Tuscarora in calling Hugh Vance, which he accepted, and whether he was ever installed or not, he was their acting pastor.

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 110-112; Southern Presbyterian Leaders. White, 233.

(2) Minutes Gen. Assembly, 1931, p.281.

(3) Presby'sm in North'n Va, Graham, 54-5. (4) Ibid. 55.

In April 1775, Mr. Lang is ordered by Presbytery to write to Back Creek church, urging it to pay the arrears due on Mr. Vance's salary. Also Mr. Fithian the following June speaks of it as "Mr. Vance's Meeting House," and gives us some further light in his Journal concerning the size of the congregation, "Sunday, June 18, 1775. Over the North Mountain I rode to Mr. Vance's meeting-house at Back Creek. The Sacrament was administered. Ninety-three communicants. Vast assembly." (1)

The first mention of Back Creek on the Records of Lexington Presbytery is for April 24, 1792, when they send a "commission" to Presbytery asking for supplies. April 24, 1793, they joined in an unsuccessful call for Thomas Poage, and afterwards are forced to depend upon occasional supplies until May 15, 1799, (2) when Joseph Glass was appointed to preach statedly for them and Middletown; and Sept. 24, 1799 Mr. Glass accepted a call from these two churches, (one-third of his time for Back Creek) (3) and was ordained and installed before the next meeting of Synod, Sept. 24, 1800. He remained until 1806. (4)

This church is now called Tomahawk, after the spring near by and Dr. J.A. McMurray is its joint pastor with Falling Waters. It has seventy-six members. (5)

12. Falling Waters.

This church has always ranked among the stronger ones of this region. Its location is near one of the principal fords

(1) Ibid. 55-56. (2) MS. Rec. Lexington & Winchester Presbys.
(3) MS. Rec. Winchester Presby.
(4) MS. Rec. Synod of Va. (5) Minutes Gen. Assem. 1931, p. 281.

of the Potomac, and it is surprising that we do not meet with its name until April 28, 1762. However, this is to be accounted for, as in several other cases, by the loss of records, in which it is quite certain the name of this church could be found.⁽¹⁾

Tradition tells us that about 1745 a Presbyterian congregation, largely Irish, was formed at Lower Falling Waters, in Berkeley County, and that towards the close of the century the church was removed to a point about three miles east of the present church, and seven miles north of Martinsburg. They had evidently grown to some importance before they are introduced to us in the Records, for they are dissatisfied with the occasional supplying, and want "laborers for some time to come." For eight years they frequently and zealously apply to Presbytery for supplies, and not without success.⁽²⁾

Hugh Vance was called "to be pastor of Falling Waters and Back Creek" October 1770, and in August 1771, the minute states that he was ordained and installed Pastor of Tuscarora and Falling Waters, leaving out Back Creek. April 1775, Mr. Vance reports "that his congregations, Falling Waters and Tuscarora, had given £5 for the aid of candidates." However, it does not seem that he preached here very often, for they are almost continually asking and receiving supplies, and he must have given up this part of his work before October 1788, at which time they united with Williamsport and Hagerstown in Maryland, in a request for Joseph Caldwell, a licentiate of Presbytery

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 59.

(2) Ibid.; Also see MS. Sketches of Chs in Winchester Pres., 65.

in Ireland, "as a constant supply for one year." This was granted, and besides, Dr. Norcross names Vance as pastor only of Tuscarora and Back Creek in his history of Donegal and Carlisle Presbyteries.(1)

Fithian's Journal.-- Mr. Fithian in his Journal speaks of a visit to Falling Waters church in the spring of 1775:(2)

"Sunday, May 21. Mr. Hunter and I preached at Falling Waters Meeting House. It stands on the Potowmack, is well situated, and I am told is a numerous society. The people gave good attention, sang the Scotch, or, as they called them, 'David's Psalms.' The congregation is chiefly made up of country Irish and half Scotch, most of them Presbyterians. We dined at one Bowland's. Two wagons fully loaded went past, going with families to back settlements."

In April 1793, they united with Tuscarora in a call for Rev. John Boyd. He was ordered to supply them for six months, and in October accepted the call. April 9, 1794 he was installed their pastor and remained with them until 1801.(3)

Rev. J.A.McMurray is their present pastor, and their membership is 298.(4)

13. Cape Capon. (Bloomery)

The name of this church is first found in Donegal records for April 29, 1761--"supplications were received from Opeckon, Cape Capon," and other places. This church was located at the forks of Cape Capon River where Braddock's famous military road from Winchester to Cumberland crosses it. This is about 25 miles in a straight line from its mouth at the Potomac, though over 90 miles by the course of the river. The name is

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 60-61.

(2) Given in Ibid. 61. (3) Ibid.

(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 281.

probably Indian, meaning "to reappear." This is descriptive of the stream itself, which breaks from the base of the mountain as a large, full stream, of river-like proportions; while on the other side of the mountain is "Lost River," which, after flowing many miles, suddenly disappears near the base of the mountain, and, after flowing three or four miles under ground, reappears as "Cape Capon," or as now called, "Capon." (1)

After seven years, during which time they had grown in strength, they petition Presbytery April 1768 for "an ordained minister, who shall assist in forming them into a regular congregation," and Mr. Roan was sent to them for this purpose. (2)

The name "Cape-Capon" first occurs on Hanover Records, Oct. 26, 1781, receiving supplies, and continues on the Records of Hanover, Lexington, and Winchester Presbyteries asking and receiving supplies through 1800. (3)

Because of emigration, and the change of business interests to Bloomery Mills, four miles east, this site was finally abandoned in the early part of the nineteenth century, and Bloomery Church organized, which is really the successor of the old church at the forks. (4)

14. Gerrardstown

This church was first known as "Cool Spring," which is about four miles south of Gerrardstown. Here it was originally located, and is first mentioned in the Donegal minutes for

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 56-8. (2) Ibid. 57.

(3) MS. Rec. Hanover, Lexington, and Winchester Presbyterys.

(4) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 58.

April 1783 in a joint request with Bullskin for the services of Rev. John McKnight, in which they seem to have been unsuccessful. This makes it rather evident that services had been held here for some time previous.(1)

In 1791 it overtures the Presbytery of Carlisle to consent to its transfer to the Presbytery of Lexington, that it may join with Winchester in securing a minister.(2) Oct. 1, 1791 they join with Winchester in calling licentiate Joseph Caldwell, which he accepted April 24, 1792, but evidently was never installed and remained only a short time. April 24, 1793, they united with Back Creek in a call for Thomas Poage, which he declined.(3)

About 1793, the church was removed from Cool Spring to the growing village of Gerrardstown, where their second building was erected, and was known for a while as "Middletown," by which name it occurs on the records of Lexington Presbytery April 23, 1794, and on the Winchester records through 1800.(4) This building was a plain brick structure with no plaster or means of heating until 1818. The original trustees were John Park, Samuel McKown, and J. Stephenson.(5)

They ask and receive supplies from Presbytery until Sept. 24, 1799, when Rev. Joseph Glass became their first regular pastor at a salary of \$300.00 for two-thirds of his time, and labored acceptably for many years.(6) Dr. J.B. Bittinger is their present pastor and they have a membership of 116.(7)

(1) Ibid. 103-4. (2) Ibid. (3) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.

(4) Pres'm in North'n Va., Graham, 105; MS.Rec. Lexington and Winchester Presbys.

(5) MS. Sketches of Churches of Winchester Presby, 79.

(6) MS.Rec.Winchester Pres. (7) Minutes Gen.As.1931, p.281.

15. Round Hill.

The name of "Round Hill" is of frequent occurrence in the Records of Donegal and Carlisle Presbyteries. There were three places of that name, one in Loudonn County, another west of Cumberland, and the Donegal Records there appears another Round Hill in Frederick County, Va.(1)

Oct. 23, 1764, "Roundhill asks supplies and a minister to ordain Elders." John Roan was appointed to do this, and Feb. 21, 1765, he reported that he "did not ordain Elders at Round Hill, because the men elected would not serve." April 16, 1765, "Round Hill and Tuscarora in Frederick Co., Va., ask for supplies, and Round Hill for a minister to ordain Elders."(2)

The present Round Hill has been a preaching place ever since the days of Dr. Hill in Winchester, but was not organized until May 15, 1880.(3)

16. Front Royal.

This church is named after the town of Front Royal, which, according to tradition, obtained its name through an incident in the drilling of some soldiers near an unusually large specimen of the Royal Oak. The officer in command, wishing his company to execute a certain maneuver, the command of which he could not recall, became confused and in his chagrin blurted out abruptly and hotly, "Front the Royal." This order then became a byword which was jestingly fastened upon the village, and later the picturesque and euphonic phrase "Front Royal" was adopted

(1) MS. Sketches of Churches of Winchester Presby., 271.

(2) Ibid. 271-2.

(3) Ibid.

as the name of the town.(1)

South River and Flint Run.-- The Front Royal Church grew out of two smaller churches--"South River" and "Flint Run," which we first hear of in 1789. South River was about two miles south of Front Royal on the Luray Road, and Flint Run was on the stream by that name three or four miles farther south, coming from the Blue Ridge and emptying into the Shenandoah. Worship at the latter was most likely in private homes. Rev. Wm. Williamson was the first minister serving these churches of which we have record. Coming about 1792, he spent the remainder of his ministry here until his death in 1848. His work was very successful and this field soon grew into great importance. The second and fourth meetings of Winchester Presbytery were adjourned to meet at "South River." Of the three ruling Elders at the first meeting of Winchester Presbytery, one--James Berry was from South River Church.(2)

Like most of the preachers of that time Mr. Williamson supplemented his salary by teaching school. About 1795 appointments for preaching began to be made at the "School House" which was in the village, and in October of that year, the first movement was made for obtaining subscriptions to build a Presbyterian Church in Front Royal. The first mention of "Front Royal" in the church Records, is when Presbytery, in session at South River, June 1796, adjourned to Front Royal for an afternoon session. A few years later the names of South

(1) Presby'tsm in Northern Va., Graham, 113.

(2) Ibid. 113-4.

River and Flint Run disappear and that of Front Royal appears instead.(1) Today the church has 105 members and Rev. W.H. Shannon is pastor.(2)

William Williamson.- Mr. Williamson, the real founder of the Front Royal Church, was a Scotchman, born in Edinburgh about 1764. Having graduated in law, he came to America, during which voyage he became desperately sick, and had to be carried in a blanket to his hotel upon his arrival in New York. Though he had not planned on remaining in America, this voyage so disgusted him with ocean travel that he could never be induced to cross it again. During this voyage he gave his heart to God, and decided for the Ministry. He was licensed by Hanover Presbytery in 1792, and about the same time settled in Front Royal. He was ordained the next year, 1793--Rev. Drury Lacy preaching the ordination sermon and delivering the charge.(3)

Mr. Williamson's labors were not confined to South River and Flint Run, but were given to points far and near that were asking for preaching. Powell's Fort, Woodstock, Stoverstown (Strasburg), Weavers Mill, Front Royal, etc., shared his services. Also long and exhausting journeys were made to the mountains west of Capon River, and to the counties east of the Blue Ridge. He was a man of uncommon energy and endurance. Though his health was never robust, neither distance, weather, or bodily infirmity could deter him from making and meeting an appointment, if it was at all possible. A ride of forty

(1) Ibid. 114. (2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 282.

(3) Presby'sm in Northern Virginia, Graham, 115-116.

miles, with several sermons, was no unusual task for a single day, and this often with a storm to breast, a mountain to cross, and swollen streams to ford. He was a strong man both in the pulpit and in the courts of the church, and everywhere a bold and able advocate and defender of the Presbyterian polity and faith. A fellow Presbyter writes of him, that "in argument he excelled all men in his Presbytery, and in strength of style and expression he had no superior. His sermons-- never dull--were often overpowering. The ablest men in the community that listened to him, and most of them did, felt that, in point of intellect and information, he was their peer."⁽¹⁾

17. South Branch

By "South Branch" is meant the South Branch of the Potomac, and the particular church in Moorefield Valley, later called "Concrete," located at or near the present town of Moorefield.

It is first found on the records of Donegal Presbytery for Dec. 11, 1740, when "Mr. Caven is ordered to supply at Marsh Creek (i.e. Gettysburg, Pa.) and South Branch, at his discretion, till our next." May 30, 1741 a "supplication" for supplies was brought in and read from "the South Branch of the Potomac," which by subsequent history is identified with Moorefield Valley.⁽²⁾

Early Settlements..- It is somewhat surprising to find a Presbyterian settlement here as early as 1740 large enough to claim the attention of Presbytery, because at that time Moore-

(1) Ibid. 116-7.

(2) Ibid. 42-3.

field valley was so secluded, isolated, and exposed to attacks of hostile savages. However, Dr. Graham tell us of some early explorations and settlements in this section prior to and about the year 1736 of Dutch and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians:(1)

"There is an old and undisputed tradition, now accepted as history, that long before settlers had gathered in any large numbers in the Shenandoah Valley, John Howard and his son penetrated these mountain solitudes and discovered the charming South Branch Valley; then crossing the mountains, they descended the Ohio and Mississippi, in a skiff of their own construction, and at last, after a thrilling series of adventures, they found themselves in London, and reported their discoveries to Lord Fairfax, the proprietor of the Northern Neck. Sometime after Howard's visit, the tradition (or history) continues, John Van Meter, of New Jersey, who, as a trader, had ingratiated himself with the Indians, accompanied a war party of the Delawares on an expedition to the South, against the Catawbias. Their march was up the South Branch Valley, giving Van Meter a fine opportunity to acquaint himself with that wonderfully rich and attractive country. Returning home, he described that Valley as 'the finest body of land he had ever seen,' and advised his sons to settle there. One of them took his advice. Visiting the country about 1736, he obtained a 'tomahawk title' to the land immediately above the Trough, where Fort Pleasant was afterwards built, and returned to New Jersey for his family. When, after a year or two, he, with several of his friends and their families, came again to the South Branch, he found that its value had become known to others, probable through Howard's report, and that a considerable body of emigrants had already settled there. The name of Van Meter proved a protection to them all, and the increase in population was rapid.

"The Van Meters were of Dutch origin, as were probable all who came to the South Branch under their auspices. Their church affiliations were naturally with the Dutch reformed; and very early in the settlement of that Valley the Dutch Reformed Classis of New Jersey sent its missionaries to them, and to others of their faith and order in the adjacent vallies, particularly to Patterson's Creek. It seems, however, that those who preceded the Van Meters, as well as those who joined them soon afterward, were chiefly of Scotch-Irish stock and, therefore, Presbyterians. And either because these were superior to their Dutch neighbors in numbers and zeal; or, which is most likely, because Donegal Presbytery possessed superior facilities for reaching them and supplying their spiritual wants, the Presbyterian Church was the one which obtained the earlier and firmer foothold in that Valley."

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 43-44.

Places Adjacent.- We next find South Branch mentioned in the Records of the Synod of Philadelphia for May 23, 1751: "Ordered, that Mr. Craig supply...the South Branch and places adjacent, three Sabbaths before our next."(1) This minute is important not only because it mentions South Branch, but because it tells us that there were other "places adjacent" to the South Branch that were becoming Presbyterian centers. These seem to have grown considerably, for seventeen years later, October 1768, we find that "a number of places in Hampshire County supplicated for supplies;" and the next spring, April 1769, "supplies were called for from various places on the South Branch of the Potomac."(2) It is possible that Patterson's Creek, Romney, Springfield, ~~Frankfort~~, which we will take up later, and perhaps other places were included here in these "adjacent" and "various" places.

Organization of Concrete.- Our next minute from South Branch proper is very interesting, as showing growth and zeal among these people: "April, 1768, supplications were received from the South Branch of the Potomac; and for an ordained minister to assist in forming them into a regular congregation." Rev. John Roan was sent to them, and from this time we date the first regular organization of a church in that Valley, which was called by the singular name of "Concrete."(3)

Hoge's Pastorate.- In 1781 Moses Hoge was providentially led to settle among them, and remained until 1787 when he

(1) Records Synod of Philadelphia for May 23, 1751.
(2) Given in Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 45.
(3) Ibid. 44-45.

removed to Shepherdstown. He was devoted to his church and gave to the people of South Branch a ministry of surpassing ability and value, the power of which was long felt in all that region. His home was in Moorefield, where he taught school, which not only contributed to his support, but secured to the youth of South Branch educational advantages of a very superior character.(1) During his ministry (1786) the Presbytery of Lexington was constituted and Hoge with this church was assigned to it.

From Mr. Hill's Journal we find that Mr. Hoge was succeeded by Rev. Jacob Jennings, who was at that time in the Low Dutch Church. However, he must have been quite Presbyterian in principle, for after his removal to Pennsylvania in 1792 he was received as a member of Redstone Presbytery.(2)

At the time of the organization of Winchester Presbytery in 1794, Concrete church was reported vacant, but able to support a minister(3) They occur frequently from Feb. 26, 1795 to May 16, 1799 asking and receiving supplies.(4) Moorefield, the successor of Concrete is first found in the records for Oct. 26, 1799, when John Lyle was appointed one Sabbath there. The present Moorefield church has 200 members.(5)

Other Churches

After 1768, and before the end of the century, we find several other churches of which only a brief sketch will be given.

(1) Ibid. 45-46.

(2) Ibid. 46.

(3) MS. Records Synod of Va., Sept. 30, 1795.

(4) MS. Records Winchester Presbytery.

(5) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 282.

18. Patterson's Creek.- First appears in the records of 1768 when Rev. John Roan is appointed to preach there. Seventeen years later, October 1781, they ask for "an ordained minister to assist in forming them into a regular congregation, and ordaining elders." Among their supplies was the distinguished Rev. Thaddeus Dodd, who preached for them about two years, 1777-1779. Rev. John Lyle was their first regular pastor, coming in 1793, at which time it was known as Frankfort.(1) Rev. J.T.Owen is their present pastor and their membership is twenty-eight.(2)

19. Lost River.- Is mentioned first in October 1768, when John Hoge is directed to "supply at Mr. Wilson's, near Lost River."(3) From 1769 through 1800 they occasionally ask and receive supplies. It is named as one of the vacant churches constituting Winchester Presbytery in 1794.(4)

20. North River.- Is first mentioned in the minutes for April 11, 1769 asking for supplies. This is the river flowing into the Capon at the forks. However, the point on this River asking for supplies is not designated. We now have three organized churches along that river.(5) It occurs Sept. 19, 1800 asking and receiving supplies.(6)

21. Hopewell.- Is the original name of our church in Smithfield, Jefferson County. Its name first appears in the Donegal records for October 1773, supplicating for supplies. In

(1)MS.Sketches of Chs. of Winchester Presby.,172; Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 62-63. (2) Min. Gen.As.,1931,p.282.

(3)Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 75.

(4)MS.Rec.Synod of Va.,Sept.30,1795

(5)Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 76.

(6)MS.Records Winchester Presbytery.

1780, and again in 1781 they ask and receive supplies. In 1791 it was able with Bullskin and Charlestown to secure the services of Wm. Hill.(1) Sept. 26, 1792, Wm. Hill was received as a candidate from Hanover Presbytery by Lexington Presbytery, and ordained in the Charleston and Hopewell churches.(2) When Winchester Presbytery was organized in 1794 Hopewell was one of the churches composing it. In 1800 they ask supplies of Lexington Presbytery.(3)

22. Romney.-- In January 1776, Dr. John McMillan, one of the fathers of Old Redstone Presbytery preached in Romney.(4) The first mention on the records is for October 1781 when they "request supplies and especially an ordained minister to assist in forming them into a regular congregation, and ordaining Elders."(5) Rev. John Lyle visited this section in 1791, and was so pleased that he accepted an invitation to settle permanently, and in 1793 was ordained and installed the first pastor ~~of~~ of the Presbyterian Church in Hampshire County;(6) and Sept. 24, 1794, Lexington Presbytery reports that he had "been ordained and installed in the congregations of Springfield Frankfort and Rumney."(7) He most likely preached here until his death in 1807. Philip Cool was an Elder under Mr. Lyle. Charles R. Bailey is their present pastor and their membership is 185.(8)

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 81-2.

(2) MS. Records Synod of Va. (3) MS.Rec.Lexington Pres.

(4) MS. Sketches of Churches of Winchester Presby. 187.

(5) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 95.

(6) MS.Sketches of Churches of Winchester Presby, 187; Also MS.Records Lexington Presby, Oct. 8, 1793.

(7) Ibid. Sketches, 189.

(8) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.281.

23. Springfield.- Is first found in the Lexington Presbytery Records for Oct. 8, 1793, joining in a call for John Lyle, which he accepted and lived in Springfield until his death in 1807. John McAlister was an Elder under Mr. Lyle.(1) It is one of the Churches named in the formation of Winchester Presbytery in 1794.(2) It is grouped now with Patterson's Creek in pastoral services, and has 47 members.(3)

There are several other preaching places named in the Records:(4)

Shenandoah.- Between May 23, 1782 and June 10, 1793.

Powell's Fort.- Between Sept. 18, 1792 and Dec. 4, 1794.

Millerstown.- Between April 24, 1794 and Nov. 4, 1796.

Janetstown.- Once, June 20, 1795.

(1) MS. Sketches of Churches of Winchester Presby., 189

(2) MS. Records Synod of Va., Sept. 30, 1795.

(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.282.

(4) MS. Records of Lexington and Winchester Presbyteries.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XI

OLD VALLEY CHURCHES (Cont.)

II. Lexington Presbytery.

The Presbytery of Hanover was divided into two Presbyteries May 22, 1786. The Records, after giving the new bounds *etc.*, of Hanover Presbytery, proceed to constitute Lexington Presbytery as follows:(1)

"The other to be bounded by the Presbytery of Redstone and Carlisle on the North, by the south-eastern ridge of the Appalachian Mountains on the east and south, and by New River on the west, consisting of the Rev. John Brown, Wm. Graham, Archd. Scott, James McConnel, Edward Crawford, Benjamin Irwin, John Montgomery, Wm. Wilson, Moses Hoge, John McCue, Samuel Carrick, and Samuel Shannon, to be known by the name of the Presbytery of Lexington, and to meet for the first time at Timber Ridge, in Rock Bridge County, on the last Tuesday of September next, the Rev. John Brown to preside, or in his absence the senior minister present."

Two years later, 1788, they make out a report for the General Assembly in which they report ten ministers and twenty-eight churches, eleven of which are supplied and the rest vacant.(2)

Winchester Presbytery was set off from Lexington, as^{we} have seen, in 1794, and later Greenbrier, and Montgomery. At present Lexington Presbytery has sixty-nine ministers and sixty-six churches.(3)

(1) Records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia.

(2) Minutes of the General Assembly, 1789.

(3) Ibid. 1931, p.274.

Following are brief sketches of those churches dating their origin back to the eighteenth century, that are located in the present bounds of the Presbytery.

1. Augusta Stone

Augusta Stone Church is located about eight miles north of Staunton on the Lee Highway. The first settler in this section, now Augusta County, was John Lewis in 1732. The population increased so rapidly that within six years (1738) the General Assembly passed an order to organize it into a county, which, however, was not carried out until 1745. The county of Augusta then covered the present States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and most of West Virginia. Staunton was then called "Beverley's Mill Place." (1)

The first mention of these people in ecclesiastical records was under the name of "Beverley Manor,"--"A supplication from the people of Beverly Manor, in the back parts of Virginia, was laid before the Presbytery of Donegal, Pennsylvania, September 2, 1737, requesting ministerial supplies." Mr. Anderson visited the Valley on his way to intercede with the Governor for the relief of the dissenters the next year, 1738, and preached the first regular sermon ever delivered in this section of the country at the home of Mr. Lewis near Staunton. "In 1739 they applied for the services of Rev. Mr. Thompson, who came and preached for a time." (2)

(1) Address 150th Anniversary, Waddell, 1-2; History of Augusta Church, Van Devanter, 11.

(2) Ibid, Waddell, 2; and Van Devanter 11.

Sept. 2, 1740, "Robert Doag and Daniel Denniston from Virginia declared, in the name of the people of Shenandore, their adherence to their call formerly presented to Mr. Craig." (1)
This was in reality the second call to Mr. Craig, which with the other mentioned in 1737 and 1739, lead us to believe there was an organization here before 1740. (2)

John Craig.- Rev. John Craig accepted the call and came in 1740. He was born in County Antrim, Ireland, Aug. 17, 1709, the son of pious parents who took great pains in "instructing him in the principles of religion." About the age of fourteen or fifteen he made a profession of religion, and was admitted to Communion by Rev. Alex. Brown, who baptized him. He was a zealous student, and was graduated from the College of Edinburgh in 1732 with the degree of M.A. (3)

Being somewhat in doubt as to his calling he was practically settled upon the ministry after a "long and dangerous illness," and the great need caused him to turn to America. Later in life he says, "At that time I had a dream or vision representing to me, as it were, in miniature the whole that has happened to me of any importance these thirty-five years; yea, the very place I have been settled in these thirty-five years. I knew it at first sight, and have done here what was represented to me then." This was a wonderful experience indeed, but is surpassed by another which followed it. Having embarked at Larne, June 10, 1734, he arrived at Newcastle on the Delaware August

(1) MS. Records Donegal Presbytery. (2) Address 150th Anniversary, Waddell, 2; Hist. Augusta Church, Van Devanter, 12.

(3) Ibid.- Waddell, 1-3; and Van Devanter, 12; Also Southern Presbyterian Leaders, White, 33.

17th, during which trip he had his wonderful experience. He says, "I escaped a very imminent danger without any means but the kind hand of Providence, being accidentally cast overboard in a dark and tempestuous night. I lay as on a bed of down on my back, on the raging wave which tossed me back on the ship's side, where I found hold and sprung aboard, and none knew of it."(1)

In September 1734, he attended the Synod of Philadelphia and presented his letters of introduction. After teaching school a year and reading several years he was licensed by the Presbytery of Donegal Aug. 30, 1738, and sent to visit the congregations in the Valley. He was ordained Sept. 2, 1740,(2) and immediately came to his accepted work in Augusta County, Virginia, "purchased a plantation (on Lewis' Creek) and began to improve upon it, and June 11, 1744, married a young gentlewoman of a good family and character...daughter of Mr. George Russel, by whom I had nine children."(3)

The period covered by the pastorate of Dr. Craig was a most interesting and formative one, when the future was as unmarked as the forest country to which they had come. There were no roads except the occasional trail of the Indian. They had nothing to guide them save the compass, the stars, and the moss upon the trees. So with their future-- They had their Bibles, their reason and their consciences, untrammelled by Church or State, to guide them.(4)

(1) Address 150th Annivrsry, Waddell, 3; Hist. Augusta Ch., Van D., 12-3.
(2) MS. Records Donegal Presbytery.
(3) Hist. Presby. Ch., Webster, 462; Hist. Augusta Ch., Van D., 13.
(4) Hist. Augusta Church, Van Devanter, 13.

Organization and Growth.- This church was ^{organized} on or before 1740; which makes^{*} at least five years older than the County of Augusta, and older than the city of Staunton. Much progress was made under Mr. Craig. In his Diary, he says, "The year being ended, the whole number baptized by me is one hundred and thirty-three." In the second year of his pastorate he baptized eighty-two. This being the record of infant baptisms, indicated a large population, considering the short time since the first settlers arrived.(1)

Meeting Houses.- Their first meeting house was a log building situated near the old cemetery. This was replaced by the stone building which gave the church its name, and which was dedicated Jan. 22, 1749. This stone was brought on "drags" or "lizards," and tradition says the sand was brought from North River, several miles distant, by the women on pack-horses. It is interesting to note that though this was before cement was known, the mortar, which cannot be duplicated today, in some respects is harder than the stone itself. The walls of this old building have been the scenes of many interesting events.(2)

Craig's Courage.- After the defeat of Braddock in 1755, but for Graig, many of these people would have fled the country. He opposed such action "as scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, and evidence of

(1) John Craig's Diary.

(2) Address 150th Anniv., Waddell, 4-7; History Augusta Church, Van Devanter, 15-16.

cowardice, want of faith and a noble Christian dependence on God as able to save and deliver from the heathen; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity." When he had done scoring them, he advises them to build forts sufficient to hold twenty or thirty families, in the different parts of the settlement convenient to these groups. "They required me to go before them," says Craig, "in the work, which I did cheerfully, though it cost me fully one-third of my estate. The people very readily followed, and my congregation in less than two months was well fortified." One of these forts was built around the Stone church, some of which marks could recently be seen.(1)

Craig was a member of the "Old Side" Synod of Philadelphia until the union in 1758, when he became a member of Hanover Presbytery, which had been formed by "New Side" ministers.(2) Craig also taught school a part of his time. Wm. Preston, a prominent man in his day, was indebted to him for most of his education.(3)

He was dismissed from his pastorate at Tinkling Spring, Oct. 3, 1764, but remained pastor of Augusta Stone Church, leading his people through conflicts and trials until summoned into His presence, after fifteen hours affliction, April 21, 1774.(4)

William Wilson.— The church was vacant, depending upon Presbytery for supplies until 1780 when Rev. Wm. Wilson was ordained and installed Pastor in November 1780. Mr. Wilson was the son of James Wilson, an emigrant from Ireland, and was born in

(1) Hist. Augusta Church, Van Devanter, 16-17. (2) Ibid. 17.

(3) Address 150th Anniversary, Waddell, 9.

(4) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby.; Hist. Presbyn. Ch. in Am., Webster, 464.

Pennsylvania Aug. 1, 1751, the eldest of thirteen children. He joined the Presbyterian church at eighteen, and entered upon a "course of liberal education" at "Mount Pleasant, that germ of Washington College." He prosecuted his education here with unusual ardor, diligence, perseverance and success, and soon became a tutor in the school in which he learned the rudiments of Latin. Completing his academical work, he began studying theology under Wm. Graham. He was received as a candidate by Hanover Presbytery in April 1779, and in the fall of the same year was licensed. He received and accepted the call to Augusta Church, and on the last Wednesday of November 1780, was ordained and installed. The church prospered under his ministry until compelled to resign because of impaired health in 1810, and his pastoral relations with the church was dissolved by Presbytery. He died Dec. 1, 1835.(1)

Elders.-- The names of the following Elders with the date of their first appearing in the Records are: Thomas France, April 14, 1789; James Allen, Oct. 29, 1789; John Campbell, April 27, 1790; Joseph Bell, Sept. 18, 1792; Col. George Moffet, Oct. 12, 1793; George Craig, Sept. 9, 1795; Alex. Nelson, Sept. 20, 1797.(2)

Mr. Wilson was succeeded in turn by Revs. Conrad Speece, 1813-1836; Wm. Brown, 1836-1860; Francis H. Bowman, 1861-1868; W.G. Campbell, supply 1868-1870; I.W.K. Handy, 1870-1878; Alex. Sprunt, 1879-1885; George L. Bitzer, 1885-1889; J.N. Van Devanter, 1891--(3)

They have a present membership of 240--J.M. McBride, pastor.(4)

(1) Address, Waddell, 10-11; Hist. Augusta Ch., Van Devanter, 22-6.
(2) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.
(3) Hist. Augusta Church, Van Devanter, 24.
(4) Minutes Gen. Assem., 1931, p. 273.

2. Tinkling Spring.

Tinkling Spring Church, which gets its name from a spring nearby, is located about seven miles southeast of Staunton. It included the southern portion of the old "Congregation of the Triple Forks of the Shenando," with the Augusta Stone church making up the other portion.

The early Scotch-Irish settlers in this section, following John Lewis who came in 1732, had scarcely time to finish their rude log dwellings before they are found petitioning Synod and Presbytery for preachers. Their first petition, as we have seen under Augusta Stone, was made in 1737. Mr. Anderson preached for them at John Lewis' in 1738; in 1739 Mr. Thompson preached for them a while; and in 1740 John Craig accepted their call and came as their pastor. Mr. Craig lived on Lewis Creek between Augusta Stone and Tinkling Spring churches, and served both communities until Oct. 3, 1764 when he was dismissed from Tinkling Spring to give his whole time to Augusta Stone.(1) The sermon he preached to Tinkling Spring on that occasion is the only one of his discourses that can be found. His text was II Sam 23:5, and he follows the old exhaustive method. There are fifty-five divisions and subdivisions, with about 8,000 words. The style is plain, unadorned, and strenuous; it is a manly testimony to Calvinism. This is a fair sample:(2)

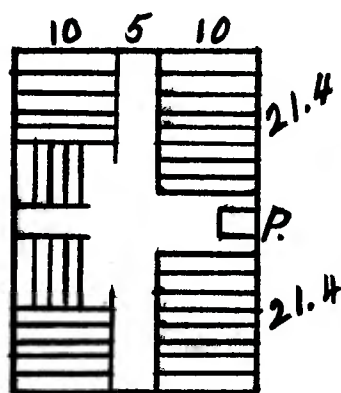
"In this short discourse," he says, "I have collected together the sum and substance of those doctrines I have declared to you these 25 years past...I have long, often, and sincerely exhorted, entreated, invited, and besought you, in public, in

(1) Hist. Augusta Ch., Van Devanter, 11-12; MS. Rec. Lexington Pres.

(2) Hist. Presbytn. Ch. in Am., Webster, 462-4. The entire sermon may be found in the Baltimore Lit. and Rel. Mag. for Decem. 1840, Vol. VI, 541-555.

private, in secret, to come and take hold of God's covenant and Christ the mediator thereof...I hope some among you have sincerely complied...But now our dear pastoral relation is dissolved...And, oh, how does my heart tremble to think and fear that too, too many among you have not sincerely accepted of and embraced Christ on gospel terms...Oh, how can I leave you at a distance from Christ, and strangers to the God that made you! I cannot leave you till I give you another offer of Christ and his covenant of grace...Let me beg of you, for your soul's sake, for Christ's sake, to leave all your sins, and come, come speedily, and lay hold on the covenant of grace, and Christ the Mediator of it; never, never let him go till he bless you."

The First Building.- August 14, 1741,



-Diagram of old
Tinkling Spring
Church. (1)

James Patton, John Finley, George Hutchison, John Christian, and Alex. Breckenbridge were "appointed Commissioners to chuse and buy a plot of ground to build a meeting house upon...to collect the ministers salary and levy the charges from the sundry persons in said congregation." After some difficulties about the location we find

that on Sept. 29, 1742, "It is unanimously agreed by ye Commissioners that ye meeting house shall be built at the tinkling spring, and that all former disputes and Proceedings is agreed and done away, and to build a house 50 by 24 in the clear and the wall pleat each to be of one piece with eight logs in side wall, the least log not to be less than twelve inches broad and that the whole affair is to be carried on by the five committeemen." (2) March 1, 1743 Patton, Christian, and Finley of the old Commission with Jas. Alexander, and

(1) Book of "Transactions of the Commissioners of the South side of the Congregation of the Thiple Forks of the Shenando," p. 26. (2) Ibid. 20.

Wm. Wright were appointed new commissioners succeeding those appointed Aug. 14, 1741. This building was finished sometime before April 26, 1748, at which time they rented the seats for prices ranging from 1-12-0 to 0-10-0, and employed a sexton "at ye rate of forty shillings a yeare." (1)

Elders.- August 6, 1765 we find the following list of Elders which met the first Tuesday of every quarter: George Hutchison, James Gilaspey, James Bell, Wm. Christian, Wm. Wright, Edward Hall, John Ramsay, Walter Davis, Chas. Patrick, and Samuel Black. The name of John Christian occurs as an Elder Aug. 10, 1766, and Wm. Johnston, and John Finlo March 2, 1767. (2) In addition we find attending Presbytery from Tinkling Spring, Andrew Fulton, April 16, 1795; Samuel Pilson, May 7, 1799; James Douglass, Oct. 15, 1799; and James Frazeur, June 11, 1800. (3)

It is interesting to note that Presbytery met at this church ten times in the eighteenth century from April 1, 1761 -- June 11, 1800. (4)

They called James Waddell May 1, 1776. (5) He considered at the time and in 1778 removed his family to a place called Spring Hill, a few miles above Waynesboro on the South Fork of the Shenandoah. (6) He remained here until 1784 or 1785 when he removed to the neighborhood of the present town of Gordonsville, where he spent the rest of his life. (7)

Pastors.- Presbytery was faithful in sending supplies to

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- (1) Ibid. 25-29. (2) Ibid. 29, 37-38, 57.
(3) MS. Records Lexington Presby.
(4) MS. Records Hanover and Lexington Presbys.
(5) MS. Records Hanover Presby.
(6) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 122.
(7) Ibid. Also First Presbyterian Ch., Staunton, 242.

preach and administer the Sacrament during these intervals between pastors.(1) Sept. 20, 1791, "Tinkling Spring and Staunton invited Mr. John McCue to take the pastoral charge of them, which he accepted and Presbytery concurred."(2) He remained until his sudden death caused by being thrown from his horse one Sabbath morning while on his way to church in 1818, and was followed in turn by Revs. James C. Wilson (Williams), 1818-1839; B.M.Smith, 1840-1845; R.L.Dabney, 1847-1852; C.S.M.See, 1856-1870; G.B.Strickler, 1870-1883; John Preston, 1883-1888; H.R.Laird, 1889-1891; C.W.Finley, 1892--(3) Their present pastor is Rev. J.C.Siler, D.D., and they have 286 members.(4)

3. First Presbyterian Church, Staunton.

At the time of John Craig's arrival in this section, 1740, there was no town or even village of Staunton, and not till some years afterwards. When the settlements did begin there it is likely that Craig preached occasionally for them in private homes or the court house. Rev. Hugh McAden (McCadden) records in his diary that he preached in the court house of Augusta the first Sunday in July 1755, on a journey from Pennsylvania to North Carolina.(5)

As early as May 1, 1765 we find Staunton petitioning Presbytery for supplies, and asking advice about building a House, to which Presbytery replied, "that they shall have liberty to

(1) MS. Records of Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

(2) Ibid. Lexington Presby. (3) First Pres.Ch.Staunton, 260-2.

(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.273.

(5) First Presby. Church, Staunton, 241-2.

enjoy supplies in proportion to their subscription, but that they defer building a House at the place mentioned till our next in Augusta."(1) However, the first building, which was of plain brick, was not erected until 1818. Before the Revolution the Presbyterians in Staunton generally attended Tinkling Spring. If a Presbyterian minister preached in Staunton he used a private residence or the court house. After the Revolution they occupied the Episcopal Church on alternate Sundays.(2)

It is likely that James Waddell preached in Staunton while acting pastor of Tinkling Spring 1778-1784. They joined with Tinkling Spring in formally calling him as their pastor in 1783, but he declined, and, the next year removed to eastern Virginia.(3) After 1785 the name Staunton occurs several times asking and receiving supplies.(4)

Sept. 20, 1791, "Tinkling Spring and Staunton invited Mr. (John) McCue to take the pastoral charge of them which he accepted, and Presbytery concurred."(5) However, it is probable that McCue preached regularly only a few years in Staunton. In 1799 and several years afterwards, the Rev. John Glendy, recently from Ireland, preached occasionally in Staunton, serving several country congregations at the same time.(6)

The church was not organized until 1804, and then it had only fifteen or twenty members. Rev. Wm. Calhoun became their

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- (1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.
 - (2) History Augusta County, Peyton, 85.
 - (3) First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, 242.
 - (4) MS. Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.
 - (5) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.
 - (6) First Pres. Ch., Staunton, 243; MS. Rec. Va. Synod, Sept. 24, 1800.

first regular pastor in 1805 and remained until 1826. He was followed in turn by Revs. Joseph Smith, 1826-1832; John Steele, 1834-1837; Paul E. Stevenson, 1837-1844; Benj. M. Smith, 1845-1854; Joseph R. Wilson, 1854-1857; Wm. E. Baker, 1859-1884; John P. Strider, 1884-1885; D.K.McFarland, 1886-1892; A.M. Fraser, 1893(1)-1930; Hunter B.Blakely 1930-to present time. Their present membership is 867.(2)

Second Presbyterian Church was set off by Presbytery in 1875, and now have a membership of 736. Olivet Chapel was set off as a separate church in 1897, and now they have a membership of 195.(3)

4. New Providence.

This church stands on the west side of the Middlebrook and Brownsburg road about midway between Staunton and Lexington. The territory covered by its congregation was originally in the Beverley and Borden grants which lands could be bought for about twenty-five cents an acre. This induced many settlers, mostly Scotch-Irish, to settle here in the latter part of the thirties and the early part of the forties. According to an undated letter written by Rev. Samuel Houston, a grandson of one of the first Elders--John Houston--to Rev. James Morrison, the first settlers near South Mountain were Moores, Steeles, McClungs, Fultons, and Beards; towards North Mountain were Hays, Walkers, Moores, Robinsons, Kellys, Hudsons, Rheas, Thompsons, and Smileys; further from the mountains were Houstons,

(1) First Pres. Church, Staunton, 243-253.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 272.

(3) Ibid. 272-3; First Pres. Church, Staunton, 251,271.

Montgomerys, Aitkins, Kennedys, Wardlars, Logans, Steeles, Edmondsons, Buchanans, Pattons, Millars, Berrys, Tedfords, McCampbells, McCroskies, and Coalters.(1)

Buildings.-- We do not know when the first church was erected, but, according to the best information available, it would seem that they worshipped in the same building with Old Providence Church (A.R.P.Synod) for several years, and in 1747 or 1748 withdrew to build at a more central point for the accomodation of their members on Hay's and Walker's Creeks. Accordingly a log meeting-house was erected on the hillside across the creek from the present church.(2) A stone church was built later on the present site, possibly about the time the stone church was built on Timber Ridge--1756--and finished somewhere between 1760 and 1770. The deed, calling for eight and one-half acres of land for which "£50 current money in Virginia" was paid, was dated Nov. 14, 1771, and given by James Wardlaw and his wife to John Logan, Samuel Buchanan, Alex. Walker, Sr., Andrew Hays, James Henry, James McCampbell, Thomas Hill, John Houston, and Alex. Walker, Jr., as "Elders of the congregation of Dissenters of New Providence."(3)

This stone building was erected after much sacrifice by the people. Some gave money, others labor; and the walls, roof, and floor finished; but temporary arrangements had to be put up with for a number of years before it could be completed. One instance is given of the sacrifice of an elderly lady who

(1) History of New Providence Pres. Church, Junkin, 4-5.

(2) Ibid. 6-7; Hist. Old Providence Church, Rowan, 6; and Sketches of Virginia, Foote, II, 59.

(3) Hist. New Prov. Church, Junkin, 12.

had invited some neighbors to spend the day at her house. At dinner she apologized for having them to eat by turns that all might have the use of her few forks and knives, by saying, "We intended to have got a set of knives this year, but the meeting-house was to be finished, and we could not give our share and get the knives; so we put them off another year." (1)

New Providence was "put in church order" (regularly organized) in 1746 by Rev. John Blair, of New Castle Presbytery. It is first mentioned in the minutes of the Synod of New York for May 18, 1748--"A call was brought into the Synod from Falling Spring and New Providence, to be presented to Mr. Byram, the acceptance of which he declined." (2) The first record in the Hanover minutes is when Presbytery meets there April 25, 1759. Presbytery also met here in 1782, 1788, 1793, 1795, 1796, 1798; and Synod met here Oct. 23, 1788. (3)

Elders.-- The first Elders according to Mr. Houston, were: "a Mr. Millar, Andrew Hays, John Logan, Samuel Buchanan, Alexander Walker, John Houston, and Andrew Steele." Before the end of the century we find the names of Elders Saunders Walker, Thomas Hill, James Houston, Alex. Walker, Jr., James Henry, Charles Campbell, James M'Campbell, Joseph Moore, Wm. Buchanan, John Walker, Alex. Crawford, Wm. Wardlow, and perhaps others. (4)

John Brown.-- While a licentiate of New Castle Presbytery, John Brown was sent to supply New Providence and Timber Ridge,

(1) Sk. of Va., Foote, II, 60; Hist. New Prov. Pr. Ch., Junkin, 11-2.

(2) Records of the Synod of New York.

(3) Records Hanover and Lexington Presbys, and Synod of Va.

(4) Sks. of Va., Foote, II, 59; MS. Rec. Lexington Presby. for Oct. 24, 1789; Sept. 9, 1795; Sept. 21, 1796; Apr. 10, 1798; and June 11, 1800.

and in August 1753 these two congregations united in giving him a call which he accepted.(1) Mr. Brown was a native of Ireland and a graduate of Nassau Hall in 1749. He remained pastor of both churches until Oct. 11, 1767, when he gave up Timber Ridge,(2) but retained his relations with New Providence until 1795. In 1797 he removed to Kentucky and supplied Woodford Church until his death in 1803. During his long pastorate of forty-two years at New Providence he built up a strong self-supporting church, and in taking over the school started by Alexander, he contributed not a little to the foundation work of the now flourishing Washington and Lee University.(3)

Samuel Brown.-- At a meeting of the congregation held Feb. 29, 1796, presided over by Rev. Samuel Houston, a call was made out to Rev. Samuel Brown, which he accepted. The salary promised was \$400.00. Samuel Brown, no relation of his predecessor, was of Scotch-Irish origin. He was born in Bedford County, converted under the preaching of Drury Lacy, and educated at Liberty Hall Academy. He was their successful and happy pastor for twenty-two years until his sudden death Oct. 13, 1818. He married Mary Moore, one of the Captives of Abb's Valley.(4) Five of their sons became prominent Presbyterian ministers and one a most active and efficient Elder in his father's church. During his ministry the old Stone building was taken down and a brick one erected on the same site. This

(1) Hist. New Prov., Junkin, 7. This Call has been preserved, and a copy is given in the Appendix.

(2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(3) Hist. New Prov., Junkin, 7-17; Sks. of Va., Foote, II, 59-61.

(4) See "Abb's Valley," Chapter XIII.

was the fourth building used by this congregation, and was finished in 1812.(1)

Samuel Brown was followed in turn by Revs. James Morrison, 1819-1857; A.D.Hepburn, 1858-1860; E.D.Junkin, 1860--(2)

New Providence has grown until it is one of the largest and strongest Country churches in the South. It has a membership of 644, and Rev.C.M.Hanna is their present pastor.(3)

5. Timber Ridge

The first white settlers came to Rockbridge county in 1737 and located on the southern part of a long wooded hill, which, because of its trees, they called Timber Ridge, the rest of the Valley being covered mostly with tall, coarse grass. The patriarch of these early settlers was Ephraim McDowell, whose descendants were very active in the early history of this section. One of his sons, John, and eight of his companions were killed by the Indians in December 1743. Their bodies still rest in the brick enclosure on the west side of the Staunton-Lexington road, near the old red McDowell residence.(4)

Organization and First Building.- Timber Ridge Church was "put in church order" about the same time as that of New Providence, 1746, by Rev. John Blair. The first log meeting house was built on or before 1747, for in the Augusta County Court Order Book, we find, May 20, 1748, "On motion of Matthew Lyle, yts ordered to be certified that they have built a Presbyterian

(1) Hist. New Prov. Church, Junkin, 17-19. (2) Ibid. 20-27.
(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 272.
(4) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, II, 90-93.

meeting house at a place known as Timber Ridge." This was about three miles north of the present building, and had an earth floor with split logs hewn smooth on the top side for seats, a pulpit high up against the wall after the Scotch pattern, and narrow horizontal openings for windows, so built for protection against the Indian's arrow.(1)

Timber Ridge united with the Forks of the James in calling Rev. Wm. Dean of New Castle Presbytery in 1748. He accepted but died before he began his pastorate.(2)

In 1753 they united with New Providence in calling Rev. John Brown who accepted and remained their pastor until 1767, when he resigned and gave his full time to New Providence.(3)

The Stone Building.- In 1755 work was begun on a stone building about three miles south of their log meeting-house. It was finished and dedicated Oct. 3, 1756. This building, on the Lee Highway about seven miles north of Lexington, with some changes is still standing and used by the congregation. The deed for a tract of land thirteen poles square was made Nov. 21, 1759 by Robert Houston for five shillings to Samuel McDowell, John McClung, John Lyle, Wm. Alexander, and John Thompson, Trustees.(4)

Elders.- Some of the first Elders were, John Mackey, Alex. McCluer, Samuel Lyle, John Davidson, John Lyle, Daniel Lyle, Archibald Alexander, Wm. McClung, John McClung, and Wm. Lyle.(5)

(1) Sks. of Va., Foote, II, 94; Historical Sketch, Hileman, 5.

(2) Ibid.--Foote, 94, and Hileman, 6.

(3) Ibid.--Foote, 94, and Hileman, 6.

(4) Ibid.--Foote, 94, and Hileman, 13.

(5) Hist. Sketch Timber Ridge Pres. Church, Hileman, 27.

July 17, 1763 Cornstalk and his band of Shawnees invaded the little settlement of Kerr's Creek and massacred a number of men women and children. Some, who were attending worship in Timber Ridge Church at the time, escaped massacre. Because of its massive stone walls this church was used in Indian times as a fort.(1)

Liberty Hall Academy.- To Timber Ridge Congregation belongs a large part of the honor for the success of Liberty Hall, now Washington and Lee University. They first placed the Academy upon a substantial basis by donating buildings, wood and money. They maintained it during the hard years of the war from 1776 to 1780, and have been loyal and liberal patrons ever since.(2)

Wm. Graham accepted a call May 4, 1776 from Timber Ridge and Hall's Meeting House, and remained their pastor until 1785. He was at the same time Principal of Liberty Hall Academy.(3)

Rev. John P. Campbell accepted a call from Timber Ridge and Oxford in Collegiate union with New Monmouth and Lexington April 24, 1793, and was dismissed from these charges Sept. 10, 1795 to the Presbytery of Transylvania.(4) He was followed by Rev. Daniel Blain who was ordained and installed at a meeting of Presbytery at Timber Ridge Nov. 18, 1800.(5) Numerous petitions and appointments occur on the Records of Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries during the vacancies between pastors. Blain remained until 1814, and he was in turn followed by Rev. Henry

(1) Ibid. 14-15.

(2) Ibid. 16.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(4) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.

(5) Ibid.

Ruffner, 1819-1831; A.D.Metcalf, 1831-1834; James Paine, 1835-1838; Geo.D.Armstrong, 1838-1851; W.W.Trimble, 1851-1866; R.J. Taylor, 1866-1873; D.C.Irwin, 1873-1881; Alfred Jones, 1881-1889; H.A.White, 1890-1893; John H. Davis, 1893-1898; J.L.Mauze', 1899-1902; J.E.Booker, 1902-3; J.A.Trostle, 1904-10; R.L.Kincaid, etc.(1) T.H.Patterson is their present pastor and their membership 355.(2)

6. Bethel (North Mountain)

This church was originally known as North Mountain, which is first found on the records of Donegal Presbytery for Mar. 27, 1745, when "a call from North and South Mountain in Virginia" was presented to Mr. Black. April 4, 1745 Presbytery voted to "now transport him," but Mr. Black never moved to Virginia in obedience to this order, and was reprov'd in Presbytery for his actions.(3) South Mountain Congregation disappears from the records after 1760, at which time it is likely they were either united with or absorbed by North Mountain. April 3, 1760 we find this minute:(4)

"As the number of vacancies is great and ministers but few, the Presbytery affectionately recommend to the people of Maj. Brown's and North and South Mountain meeting houses, to form themselves into one congregation, at least for a time, on what condition they please, either at one, two, or three meeting-houses."

North Mountain congregation was organized by John Blair on his visit to Virginia in 1746. We next hear of it when Hugh McAden (McCadden) preached there June 22, 1755 on his way to North Carolina.(5)

(1) Hist.Sketch Timber R.,Hileman,25. (2)Min.Gen.As.,1931,p.273.
(3) MS.Rec.Donegal Presby. (4)MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.
(5)Sks.of Va.,Foote,II,203; So.Presbyn Leaders, White,66.

The old Meeting-House stood near the graveyard about nine miles from Staunton on the Middlebrook road. After much consultation a new building was erected about 1779, principally through the agency of Col. Doak. This second building was located just a few steps from the present brick church, which is about twelve miles south of Staunton, and six west of Greenville. To this new building came the greater part of the families from North Mountain, some from New Providence, and some from Tinkling Spring, and formed the large and flourishing congregation of Bethel. North Mountain was soon abandoned.(1)

The first occurrence of North Mountain on the Hanover Records is for August 25, 1756, when they ask for supplies and a member of Presbytery to moderate a meeting of the Session. From this time, at almost every meeting of Presbytery they either ask or receive supplies until Oct. 27, 1778, when they united with Brown's in calling Rev. Archd. Scott.(2) He accepted and spent the remainder of his life with them until his death March 4, 1799.(3) Rev. John Glendy preached statedly here for some time about 1799-1801.(4) Since this Bethel has been an independent church, having its own pastor.

It is interesting to note that a General Convention of Presbyterians was held at Bethel Aug. 10, 1785 for the benefit of Religious Freedom.(5)

The names of John Tate, Oct. 20, 1788; John M. Kerley and

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- (1) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 203.
 - (2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.
 - (3) See the following Sketch of Hebron Church.
 - (4) MS. Records Synod of Va., Sept. 24, 1800.
 - (5) See Chapter on Religious Freedom.

M. Early, April 19, 1796; George Berry April 9, 1800, appear on the records as Elders from Bethel, and Benj. Brown, May 7, 1799 from the united Congregations of Bethel and Brown's.(1)

Mr. Scott was followed by a succession of splendid men under whose ministry the Church flourished. The present pastor is Dr. H.S.Turner, and the membership is 350.(2)

7. Hebron (Major Brown's)

Hebron Presbyterian church is located several miles southwest of Staunton. It was originally a part of the Old North Mountain church which was organized by Mr. Blair in 1746.(3) About ten years later some trouble arose in the Session and they appealed to the newly constituted Presbytery of Hanover Aug. 25, 1756, "requesting that one of the members may be sent thither to moderate in that session, in determining a difference between Mr. Brown and James Callison."(4) Whether this was the occasion of the separation and the setting up of Maj. Brown's Meeting-House in the western part of the North Mountain Congregation is not known, but two years later, Sept. 28, 1758, Hanover Presbytery appointed Brown and Craig "to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Maj. Brown's meeting-house."(5) This is the first mention of Maj. Brown's on the Records, and the first log building must have been erected in 1757 or 1758 upon the site where Hebron (the name adopted later) now stands.

(1) MS. Rec. Lexington Presbytery.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 273.

(3) Sks. of Va., Foote, II, 202; First Pres. Ch., Staunton, 263.

(4) MS. Rec. Hanover Presbytery. (5) Ibid.

Elders.— The names of Wm. McPheeters, Oct. 26, 1790; and John Young, Oct. 16, 1798, occur on the records as Elders.(1)

A call was given to a Mr. Latta Apr. 3, 1760, but not accepted. Oct. 16, 1766 they presented a call to Rev. Charles Cummings which he accepted,(2) and served them very acceptably until 1772, when he resigned and removed to Southwest Virginia.(3) The church was vacant again for six years, during all of which vacancies the name occurs at almost every meeting of Presbytery either asking or receiving supplies.(4)

Archibald Scott.— Oct. 27, 1778, "A call from North Mountain and Brown's meeting house was give in to be presented to Mr. Scott,"(5) which he accepted and spent the remainder of his life there, dying March 4, 1799. He came as a lonely emigrant from Scotland to the Virginia frontier, studied theology at Liberty Hall, and was licensed by Hanover Presbytery Oct. 31, 1777. His remains lie under the oaks in the cemetery at Hebron, and the slab that marks his grave, with its camps and cannon, cross and Bible carved upon it indicate the various ways in which he faithfully served his people and his country.(6)

Mr. Scott was followed by Rev. John Glendy, who supplied them from about 1799 to 1801.(7) He was followed by Rev. Wm. Calhoon in 1805, during whose ministry the church greatly prospered. In 1816 there were 100 members, six of whom were colored, and in 1833 there were 212 members. Calhoon resigned in

(1) MS. Rec. Lexington Presby. (2) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby.

(3) First Pres. Ch., Staunton, 263.

(4) MS. Rec. Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

(5) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (6) First Pres. Ch., Staunton, 263.

(7) MS. Rec. Lexington Presby.; MS. Rec. Synod of Va., Sept. 24, 1800.

1834, and was followed by Revs. Isaac Jones, S.S., 1834-39;
S.J. Love, 1840-58; John T. Baker, 1859-61; T.L. Preston, 1884-7;
J.E. Booker, 1888-1900; Holmes Ralston, 1900--(1). Rev. W.C.
Jamison is the present pastor, and their membership is 457.(2)

8. Massanutten Churches.

The old Peaked Mountain Church is represented today by two churches--Massanutten Cross Keys, and Massanutten Cross Roads, both a few miles east of Harrisonburg.

The first log building must have been erected in the early forties, for in the March term of the Augusta County Court, 1747, mention is made of a road from "Henry Down's Mill (on North River near the present Port Republic) to ye meeting house," which Mr. Kemper says, "was beyond question the Peaked Mountain Church, now Massanutten." (3) In May 1749 a petition was presented to the County Court of Augusta asking for the establishment of a road from the vicinity of what is now Elkton, "in a westerly direction joining the court house road at the New Stone Meeting House." and an order was entered directing Jacob Rogers, Robert Scott and James Beard to view and mark the road.(4) This mention also is undoubtedly of the Peaked Mountain Presbyterian Church, and the new Stone Building must have been erected about 1748. This building was about 35 x 25 feet in size and stood about 75 feet south of the present Massanutten Church. Mr. Kemper says he remembers frequently

(1) First Pres. Church, Staunton, 264-6. (2) Min. Gen. As., 1931, 272

(3) Survey Book No. 1 of Augusta Co., 8; Early History of Peaked Mt. Pres. Church, Kemper, 18.

(4) Augusta County Order Book No. 2, 127.

seeing the foundation of this building during his boyhood days.(1)

Rev. John Hindman was probably the first pastor. The Donegal records state in 1745 that he was preaching "at the head of the Shenandoah." This was about five miles south of the Peaked Mountain Church, but as the Presbyterians never had an organization there this reference is most likely to the Peaked Mountain Church. Two years later, Hindman changed his church affiliation and was elected the first pastor of Augusta Parish. He died in 1748 at the residence of John Stephenson on Mill Creek about a mile from Massanutten church, after five weeks illness.(2)

The name Peaked Mountain first ^{occurs} in ecclesiastical records along with Cook's Creek for May 28, 1756, asking for the reception of Alexander Millar as a full member of Synod and his installment as their regular pastor.(3) This was done, and he remained the pastor of these churches until 1765 when he was dismissed by Presbytery.(4)

Their next pastor was Thomas Jackson who accepted "the call from Peaked mountain, Cook's Creek, &" April 14, 1769. During Mr. Millar's and Mr. Jackson's pastorates there was much discussion about the bounds of the congregations and the number of places for public worship on the field. Commissioners from the different churches affected took the matter to Presbytery April 26, 1770, and April 11, 1771. Those for Peaked Mountain

(1) Early Hist. of Pkd.Mt. Pres. Church, Kemper, 19.

(2) Ibid. (3) Records Synod of Philadelphia.

(4) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

were James Bruster, Thomas Lewis, John Craig, Archibald Huston, and Patrick Frazer.(1) James Bruster, and Archibald Huston were Elders of Peaked Mountain; Samuel McPheeters and James Laird were Elders of the united congregations.(2)

Mr. Jackson died May 13, 1773. It is likely that Benjamin Erwin, pastor of Cook's Creek and Mossy Creek 1780-1796, preached at least occasionally at Peaked Mountain. The name occurs repeatedly on the records until May 23, 1782, when it suddenly drops out and is not heard of again during the century. The name "Cross Roads" occurs in 1781 and 1782 receiving supplies.(2) At present Cross Roads has 75 members and Cross Keys 42 members. Rev. C.M.Chumbley is pastor of both churches.(3)

9. Linvil's Creek.

This name occurs for the first time Oct.7, 1762 petitioning for supplies, and takes a prominent part in the discussions about the number of preaching places while Mr. Jackson was pastor, and occurs frequently asking and receiving supplies until May 1, 1776, when it drops out of the records.(4) The territory covered by this church is now served by the Broadway and Edom Churches.

10. Cook's Creek

The first organization known as Salem Chapel was formed in 1742, though there had been preaching at intervals as far back as 1739 by Rev. John Thompson. It is likely that John Craig

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (2) Ibid.
(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 272.
(4) MS. Hanover Presbytery.

supplied some here between 1740 and 1750.(1)

Cook's Creek first occurs in Church records May 28, 1756, when along with Peaked Mountain they secure Alexander Millar as their regular pastor, who remained with them until 1765. Then for four years they depend upon supplies, the name occurring frequently in the records.(2)

April 14, 1769 Thomas Jackson accepted "the Call^{from} Peaked Mountain, Cook's Creek, &," and served until his death in 1773.(3) Both Miller's and Jackson's bodies were buried in the old Cook's Creek Cemetery near Dayton which has since been submerged by Silver Lake.(4) Again the name occurs frequently in the records either asking or receiving supplies until June 1780 when Rev. Benj. Erwin became pastor of Cook's Creek and Mossy Creek, which service he continued until April 19, 1796.(5) They again depend upon supplies until 1809 when Rev. A.B.Davidson became pastor of Cook's Creek, Mossy Creek and Harrisonburg, continuing until 1814. He was followed by Revs. Daniel Baker, 1818-21; Joseph Smith, 1822-6; Abner Kilpatrick, 1827-37; J.W.Phillips, 1838-9; A.A.H.Boyd, 1842-4; T.D.Bell 1846-67, when Harrisonburg and Cook's Creek separated, each becoming independent churches. Bell continued pastor of Cook's Creek until 1868; then W.T. Price 1869-1885, etc.(6) Dr. C.R.Lacy is the present pastor, and they have 361 members.(7)

The first church building was near the big spring, now in

(1) Directory Cook's Creek Church, 18.

(2) MS. Rec. Hanover Presbytery. (3) Ibid.

(4) History Rockingham County, Wayland, 268; Directory, 18.

(5) MS. Rec. Lexington Presbytery. (6) Direct. of Church,

(7) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 272.

Silver Lake Dayton, built probably about 1750. The next building, a frame structure, called New Erection was built on the present site about 1795. This is about five miles west of Harrisonburg, near Mt. Clinton. This was replaced by a brick structure in 1835. The present building was erected in 1912.(1)

The names of Archd. Hopkins, Andrew Erwin, and John Magil occur upon the minutes for April 26, 1770, and April 11, 1771, as commissioners from Cook's Creek. John Magil was an Elder, and John Ervin, April 24, 1792; and George Baxter, Oct.15,1799 attended Presbytery from Cook's Creek as elders.(2)

11. Mossy Creek

This Church is located about five miles south of Bridge-water. The name first occurs on ecclesiastical records for April 26, 1770, at which time they send two Commissioners to Presbytery, James Hogshead, Sr., who was made an Elder shortly afterwards, and Col. Abraham Smith. The next year, April 11, 1771, they sent three Commissioners to Presbytery, Thomas Woodall, Wm. Stephenson, and David Stephenson.(3) This would lead us to believe that the church had been in existence for some time previous. It is most likely that they were included in the call to Mr. Thomas Jackson April 14, 1769. The record reads, "Mr. Jackson accepts the call from Peaked Mountain, Cook's Creek, &." Mr. Jackson was their first regular pastor, and his early death in 1773 left them vacant. After this they

(1) Directory Cook's Creek.

(2) MS.Rec. Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

ask and receive supplies frequently until October 27, 1779, when they join with Cook's Creek and present a call to Benj. Erwin. He accepted and was ordained during the first meeting of Presbytery in Mossy Creek June 20, 1780, and remained until 1796.(1) Then again they depend upon supplies from Presbytery until 1809 when Rev. A.B.Davidson became their pastor in connection with Cook's Creek, and Harrisonburg.(2) Rev.J.M.Harris is their present pastor, and their membership is 216.(3)

Elders.-- Besides James Hogshead, mentioned above, some of the first Elders were Joseph Waddle, attending Presbytery April 14, 1789; John Nicholas, Sept. 21, 1791, and Francis Erwin, April 19, 1796.(4)

12. Harrisonburg.

Tradition tells us that the first Presbyterian preaching in Harrisonburg was about the time of its incorporation as a town in 1780, and it is likely that Benjamin Erwin preached there, at least occasionally, from that time.(5)

The first mention on the records is for Oct. 20, 1788--"The Rev. Mr. Erwin represented to Presbytery that with the consent of Cook's Creek and Mossy Creek congregations he had taken the additional charge of Harrison Burgh. He also intimated that it was the desire of the last mentioned place that Presbytery should approve of their enjoying 1/3 part of his ministerial labors, and consider them a distinct church." They were surely

(1) MS.Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.
(2) Directory of the Church; MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.
(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 272.
(4) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.
(5) Directory Harrisonburg Church, 28.

organized at this time or they would have requested it. This was deferred, and acted on at the Spring Meeting, April 14, 1789, when "no objections being proposed Presbytery record them a distinct church to be known by the name of the church of Harrison Burgh." (1)

Mr. Erwin was dismissed April 19, 1796, after which they occur frequently on the records seeking supplies, (2) until the coming of A.B. Davidson in 1809-1814. From that time Harrisonburg has enjoyed a regular succession of pastorates. The church divided in 1839 into the Old and New School parties, but this was healed by reunion in 1867. (3) Rev. Parks W. Wilson is their present pastor, and the membership is 904. (4)

The first meeting of Lexington Presbytery in Harrisonburg was Sept. 18, 1792, and first meeting of Synod Sept. 24, 1794. (5)

Buildings.-- June 2, 1789 the circuit court of Rockingham County granted to James Curry, Brewer Reeves, Benjamin Harrison, and Thomas Scott, trustees of the Presbyterian Church of Harrisonburg, liberty to build a house for public worship. Sept. 25, 1792, a deed was made to the above trustees, by Charles McClain, for a building lot on East Market and Federal Streets 40 x 65 feet, where a small stone church was erected in 1793 or 1794. (6) The previous place of worship is not known. The present elaborate building was erected in 1907-8.

Mrs. Carr, whose account of Harrisonburg in olden days is

(1) MS.Rec. Lexington Presbytery. (2) Ibid.

(3) History Rockingham County, Wayland, 269.

(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, 273; Rec. Lexington Pres. 1931.

(5) MS.Rec. Lexington Presbytery and Synod of Virginia.

(6) Directory Harrisonburg Church, 29.

of such rare interest, gives us the following description of the little stone church that stood on East Market Street:(1)

"Next comes the old stone Presbyterian church. The lot on which it was built was taken from Harriet Graham's part of her portion which her father gave her afterwards...The last ten feet on the W. side was where the principal entrance was; there was also a door on the E. and S. ends.....

"There were four high pews in each corner of the building, each pew having one a foot or two below it. My grandfather's pew was in the N.W. corner, and Sam Henry had one under it. Mr. Scott had the S.W. corner; and I do not remember who had the pew below his, unless it was the Herrons. The S.E. corner was Dr. Waterman's, with Robert Gray's below his; the N.E. was Mr. Jerry Kyle's. The pulpit was very high, and half way between the E. and the W. on the N. side of the church. Under it, a little distance from the floor, was the enclosure of perhaps six or seven feet where the elders sat. In front of the pulpit stood a man who led the singing, giving out two lines of the hymn at a time, the congregation joining in the singing. The rest of the seats were on a level with the floor. The high pews were entered by doors. The upper part of the pews were of turned balustrades--two steps leading up to the high pews and one step to the lower pews.

" The communion was administered twice a year; long high benches were placed in the aisles, in front of the pulpit, with clean white linen placed on them; then on either side were low benches for the communicants to sit on. Every communicant brought a small square piece of copper called a token, and when they were seated at the table laid it before them. The Elders came around and took them all up; then a solemn hymn was sung beginning, 'On that dark and doleful night.' The elders after the singing handed around the bread and wine. Afterwards an address was delivered by the preacher, and a few more verses were sung, when those at the table would retire and make room for others: there were usually four or five tables."

13. New Monmouth

New Monmouth Church is about five miles west of Lexington. The first settlers, who were Scotch-Irish, came to this section about 1738, and began immediately to meet together for public worship. It is possible that for a time they met in private houses, or under the shadow of the great oaks which adorned the knoll where the church was afterwards built, or

(1) History of Rockingham County, Wayland, 269-270.

perhaps in a mere booth covered with clapboards or brush for summer services. This kind of temporary provision for preaching was very common in early days.(1)

Names and Buildings.- The first log meeting-house was most likely erected about 1748, and was known as "Forks of James." A frame structure was erected between 1768 and 1770, and the name changed to "Hall's Meeting-House." This name occurs first in the records in 1769; "Forks of James" disappears after 1772.(2) The deed for the lot on which the church was built was given by Benjamin Borden to Joseph Lapsley and other trustees in 1754. A stone building was erected in 1789-1790, and the name changed to "New Monmouth." This building was not plastered until 1800, and did not have a floor until 1820. The dirt floor was worn down several inches by long usage and the people would raise a cloud of dust in dispersing after the service. A brick building was erected on the present site in 1852-1853, and the walls becoming unsafe, this was torn down and the present building erected and dedicated August 16, 1884.(3)

"Forks of James" was organized by Rev. John Blair in 1746,(4) and we find the name occurring frequently on the minutes of Presbytery asking for and receiving supplies. In 1766 they presented a call to Charles Cummings which he declined. In 1776 Wm. Graham accepted a call to Timber Ridge and Hall's Meeting House. He was dismissed by Presbytery from that relation in 1785, and again became their pastor April 14, 1789,

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- (1) Sketch New Monmouth Presby.Church, 8.
 - (2) Ibid. 24; MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.
 - (3) Sketch New Monmouth Presbyn.Church, 24-28.
 - (4) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 202.

which position he kept until 1796 when he removed to the west.(1)
During this second pastorate the revival spirit of Prince Edward
County was brought to the church and many added to the roll.(2)

Rev. John O. Campbell was co-pastor of the collegiate group
of churches, Timber Ridge, New Monmouth, Lexington and Oxford
from 1793 to 1795. George A. Baxter accepted the pastorate of
New Monmouth and Lexington Aug. 6, 1799 and continued until
1821 when he resigned from New Monmouth and gave his entire
time to Lexington.(3) The present pastor is Rev. J.W.Weathers
and their membership is 325.(4)

Elders.- John Wilson occurs as an Elder for the first time
April 27, 1791, and Hugh Weir, June 18, 1777;(5) James Logan,
April 26, 1791; Matthew Hannah, Dec. 5, 1792; and Col. William
McKee, Oct. 12, 1793.(6)

14. Oxford.

Oxford Presbyterian Church is beautifully situated about
seven miles southwest of Lexington. The first log building was
erected in 1770, and the deed for the lot was made to Rev. James
McConnel, Thomas Wilson, and Richard Williams, trustees, and re-
corded in 1779. This was replaced by a stone building in 1811,
and the present brick building was erected in 1887.(7)

The first occurrence of Oxford on the records is for Oct.
26, 1775, when they are found united with Falling Spring and

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- (1) MS.Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.
(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 427.
(3) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.; Sketch New Monmouth Church, 18.
(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 273.
(5) MS.Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries; Also see
MS.Records Synod of Virginia, for Sept. 25, 1793.
(6) MS.Rec.Hanover and Lexington Prs.; Hist.Sk.New Monmouth, 6.
(7) Letter of present Elder Oxford Church--J.S.Saville.

High Bridge in a call to Samuel McCorkle, which he declined.(1)
April 29, 1778, James McConnel, a probationer of Donegal Presbytery was received under the care of Hanover, and accepted a call to Rockbridge, Oxford and Falling Spring churches, and was ordained June 18, 1778 at High Bridge. He continued until March 1785.(2) He was followed by Edward Crawford who was pastor for some time of Botetourt and Oxford.(3)

Sept. 22, 1792 they are found united with Timber Ridge, Lexington, and Hall's Meeting-House in a collegiate union, and April 23, 1793 the union calls John Campbell, which he accepts and remains their pastor until 1795. It is most likely that Wm. Graham preached at Oxford, at least occasionally. The name occurs frequently on the minutes receiving supplies until June 13, 1800 when Timber Ridge and Oxford join in calling Daniel Blain. He accepted and a committee was appointed to install him in Oxford Nov. 18, 1800. He remained until 1814.(4) The present pastor is Rev. J.F.Coleman and the membership is 242.(5)

Only one Elder is definitely known from Oxford Church, and that is John Davidson, in the eighteenth century.(6)

15. Lexington

The first mention of the name of Lexington on the records is for Oct. 23, 1787 when Graham was appointed to supply them. The next time it occurs is for Oct. 22, 1788 when we find:(7)

"A supplication from the people of Lexington, requesting Presbytery to record them as a distinct church and representing

(1) MS.Records Hanover Presbytery. (2) Ibid.
(3) MS.Records Synod of Virginia, for Sept. 28, 1791.
(4) MS.Rec.Lexington Pr.; Hist.Sk.Timber Ridge,Hileman, 25.
(5) Min. Gen. Assem.,1931,p.272. (6)MS.Rec.Lexington Presby., for April 14, 1789. (7) MS.Lexington Presbytery.

that they had made an agreement with the Rev. Wm. Graham for one-fourth of his ministerial labors during the term of one year, commencing May last, and also requiring Presbytery's permission to make agreement with Mr. Graham so long as may be convenient to his and their circumstances."

Action on this request was deferred until the Spring meeting at Hall's Church, April 14, 1789:(1) "Presbytery having considered the petition of Lexington to be recorded as a distinct church, presented to our last and finding that the members of Hall's Church within the ancient Limits of which Lexington is situate, do, in general, agree to this separation from them, Presbytery do record them as such to be hereafter known by the name of the church of Lexington."

Presbytery met at Rockbridge Court House Oct. 20, 1789, at which meeting Graham accepted a call from Lexington for one-third of his time. Sept. 22, 1792, we find that "a collegiate connection has taken place between Timber Ridge, Lexington, Hall's m.h. and Oxford, in which the collegiate ministers shall preach alternately in the four meeting houses." April 24, 1793 John Campbell accepted a call from this collegiate union of churches and remained until April 24, 1795.(2) Mr. Graham resigned Sept. 22, 1796, and they depended on Presbyterial supplies until Georga A. Baxter accepted a call from the united congregations of Lexington and New Monmouth Aug. 6, 1799.(3) He remained until sometime after 1821, at which time he resigned his work at New Monmouth and gave his whole time to Lexington.(4) Dr. J.J.Murray is the present pastor, and the membership 924.(5)

We do not know when the first building was erected but it was after 1790, for they helped New Monmouth in the erection of the stone church in that year.(6) They used the Court House for a number of years. Presbytery met in the Court House, as

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.
(4) Sketch New Monmouth Presbyn. Church, 18.
(5) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 273.
(6) Sketch New Monmouth Presbyn. Church, 27.

we have seen above, Oct. 20, 1789. It is also interesting to note that Presbytery met in Lexington seven other times before the end of the century, and the second meeting of the Synod of Virginia was held here October 21, 1789.(1)

Elders.- The following Elders with the date of their first appearance on the records are: John McNutt, April 27, 1790; Wm. Alexander and Archd. Alexander, Oct. 26, 1790; and Arthur Beaty, Aug. 6, 1799.(2)

16. Windy Cove.

Windy Cove Presbyterian Church is located on the Cowpasture River near the cave from which it gets its name, and about a mile west of Millboro Springs. It was organized by Alexander Craighead in 1749, who was from North Ireland, having been ordained by Donegal Presbytery in 1736. It is probable that he came with or shortly after the first settlers in this section with whom he may have been acquainted. His home was down the river on a part of the old Sitlington farm. Some of the original logs of his house may still be seen in an out building on the farm.(3) He remained their pastor until April 26, 1758, when he accepted a call to North Carolina where he died in 1766.(4)

The first mention of this church on the Hanover records is for May 4, 1763, when "Cow Pasture," by which name the church was known for about the first quarter of a century, asks for supplies, and Rev. John Craig was appointed to preach for them

(1) MS.Rec. Lexington Presby, and Synod of Virginia.

(2) MS.Records Lexington Presbytery.

(3) Hist. Windy Cove Church, Ponton, 4-5, 23.

(4) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.--April 26, 1758 & April 16, 1766.

one Sabbath. The names "Cow Pasture," and "Windy Cove in the Cow Pasture" occur frequently in the minutes until Oct. 26, 1784 when a "call was presented to Mr. Shannon from the united congregations of Windy-Cove and Blue Spring in Augusta, which he accepted." Evidently he only remained about two years, for beginning Sept. 26, 1786, Windy Cove begins asking and receiving supplies at practically every meeting of Presbytery.(1) Rev. John Montgomery had charge of this church from 1789 or 1790 and remained until about 1796.(2) October 16, 1798 they united with Little River and Rocky Spring in a call for Robert Wilson which was accepted. Oct. 18, 1799, "Presbytery appointed Robert Wilson, bishop of the united congregations of Windy Cove, Little River, and Rocky Spring," as a commissioner to General Assembly.(3) He was followed by Rev. Wm. McPheeters in 1804.(4) The present pastor is A.B. Williford, and the membership 225.(5)

Buildings.- The first rough unhewn log building was on the south side of Betsy Bell hill, about two miles from the present building. It must have been erected about or before the church was organized in 1749, and was equipped with a large open fireplace and puncheons for seats, with rifle racks and port-holes for defense against the Indians. A granite slab marks the site today. The second church was built also of rough logs about 1766 at a "Working Bee." It too was equipped with rifle racks

(1) MS. Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

(2) Samuel Brown, in his sermon Feb. 28, 1875, was mistaken in saying that Montgomery remained 16 years.--Hist. Windy Cove, Ponton, p. 9. See MS. Rec. Synod of Va., for Sept. 30, 1795, when he is reported as their pastor, and Sept 27, 1797 when he reported without a charge. Also see below.

(3) MS. Rec. Lexington Pr. (4) Hist. Windy Cove, Ponton, 9.

(5) Minutes Lexington Pres., -Sept 22, 1931, p. 2; and Gen. Assem. p. 274

and port-holes. As settlers increased this building became too small and a third was erected out of hewn logs with a session room attached on or near the present site. In 1838 the present brick building and brick Session house in the yard were erected out of brick made and burned just back of the church. The modern Sunday School building was added in 1917.(1)

Elders.-- The first Elders were Wm. Gillespie, John Sitlington, Nathaniel Crawford, and Jospeh Surber.(2) We find on the minutes as Elders from the united congregations of Windy Cove, Little River (Lebanon), and Rocky Spring--John McCutchen, May 7, 1799; Wm Yewell, April 9, 1800; and John McClung, Oct. 23, 1800.(3)

17. Williamsville (Upper Cowpasture)

Though the name Williamsville is not known on the records in the eighteenth century that general vicinity occurs under several different names. Middle and Upper Cowpasture occur as early as April 10, 1771, asking for supplies, and at the fall meeting Oct. 10, 1771, Jackson was appointed to supply them one Sabbath. Upper Cow Pasture occurs again later asking for supplies, but always in connection with "Middle" which evidently refers to Windy Cove.(4)

May 19, 1784 we find "a supplication from the united congregations of Pheasant-Run and Windy-Cove for the stated labors of Mr. Shannon until our next, intimating likewise that they intend a call for him." Samuel Shannon was appointed to supply

(1) Hist. Windy Cove Church, Ponton, 5-8, 20, 25-26.

(2) Ibid. 20. (3) MS.Rec.Lexington Presbytery.

(4) MS. Rec. Hanover Presbytery.

them, and Oct. 26, 1784, "a call was presented to Mr. Shannon from the united congregations of Windy-Cove and Blue Spring in Augusta which he accepted." As far as we can tell Pheasant Run was several miles below Williamsville and Blue Spring several miles above. It is possible that they refer to about the same people who met at different places for convenience.(1) The name "Phassony Run" occurs several times--Once, Oct. 23, 1787 when Archd. Scott was appointed to preach for them one Sabbath; and again, Oct. 20, 1788 they ask and receive supplies. This and "Pheasant Run" are most likely the same place. Also the name "Feemsters," possibly a little closer to what is now Williamsville, occurs Oct. 12, 1793 receiving supplies, and again Oct. 16, 1794.⁽²⁾ As none of these places are known now, it is most likely that the remnant of them united in the one congregation of Williamsville, which now has 120 members.(3)

18. Bull-Pasture (McDowell)

The first mention of this church on the records is a petition for supplies from "the lower part of the Bull-Pasture," April 29, 1778. After this the name occurs at almost every meeting of Presbytery asking and receiving supplies until April 23, 1793 when we find two different places receiving supplies--"Capt. Poeples in the Bull pasture" and "the head of Bull pasture" both occur frequently afterwards until the end of the century.(4) Most likely somewhere ^{here} was the beginning of the present McDowell Church which has a membership today of 188.(5)

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- (1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (2) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.
(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 272.
(4) MS.Records Hanover and Lexington Presbys.
(5) Minutes General Assembly, 1931. p. 273.

19. Rocky Spring (Calf-Pasture)

Rocky Spring Presbyterian Church is about a mile south of Deerfield on the upper section of the Great Calfpasture River. This is most likely the same church as "Calf-Pasture," or "Upper Calf-Pasture" on the old records, which occurs for the first time April 26, 1759, when Rev. Alexander Miller agrees to preach for the one Sabbath. April 12, 1769 they were strong enough to venture a call to Thomas Jackson which he declined. At almost ever meeting of Presbytery from 1759 they either ask or receive supplies until Oct. 28, 1783, when Samuel Z. Carrick accepted a call from the "united congregations of Rocky Spring and Wahab's," The first occurrence of "Rocky Spring" was at the Spring meeting May 23rd of this same year, 1783.(1)

Mr. Carrick remained until about 1786, and they again depend upon supplies for several years. In May, 1789 John Montgomery made temporary arrangements with "Wahab's and Rocky Spring for one year,(2) but taking on Windy Cove, he remained until about 1796.(3) Oct. 16, 1798 they joined with Windy Cove and Little River in calling Robert Wilson which he accepted, and was ordained and installed in May 1799.(4) Rev. J.F.Clark is their present pastor and their membership is 66.(5)

Elders.- James Ramsay occurs as an Elder Oct. 18, 1799.(6) June 3, 1773, "Mr. Cummings reports that Wm. Lockridge, John Hodge, and Wm. McTeer were nominated Elders in the Upper Calf-pasture."(7)

- (1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (2) MS.Rec.Lexington Pr.,Oct.21,1789.
(3) See Note under Windy Cove.
(4) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby; & Synod of Va.,Sept.25,1799
(5) Minutes General Assembly,1931,p.272.
(6) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby. See Windy Cove for others.
(7) MS.Records Hanover Presby.

There were two places of meeting as early as April 25, 1770, when the distinguishing name "Upper Calf-Pasture" occurs. "Lower Calf-Pasture" occurs April 10, 1771. This distinction occurs frequently until May 23, 1782, when we find McConnel appointed to preach one Sabbath at "Wahab's Meeting House in calf-pasture." As we have seen above, Carrick accepted a call to "Rocky Spring and Wahab's" in 1783, and Montgomery became their pastor in 1789.⁽¹⁾ Sept. 28, 1791, Montgomery is reported to Synod as Pastor of "Rocky Spring, Windy Cove, and Wahab's," but the next report made Sept. 30, 1795, "Wahab's" has disappeared and Montgomery is reported pastor of "Windy Cove, Walkup's, and Rocky Spring."⁽²⁾ "Walkup's Meeting House in Calf-Pasture" occurs until April 10, 1798 asking and receiving supplies, after which this name drops from the records.⁽³⁾ This must have been somewhere in the vicinity of Goshen, and the people likely either removed or joined with Little River (Lebanon).

20. Lebanon. (Little River)

This Church is about three miles southwest of Craigsville on the Goshen road near the Little Calfpasture River. It is evidently the same church referred to in the minutes as "Little River," or "Little River in Calf Pasture," though the location may have been a little different. The first mention of Little River in the records is for Oct. 7, 1761, when they petition for supplies. It does not occur again until May 23, 1783, when

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

(2) MS. Rec. Synod of Virginia.

(3) MS. Rec. Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

Samuel Carrick was appointed to supply until the next stated meeting. It is most likely that they had preaching at least occasionally between these but we have no record of it. After 1783, the name occurs frequently on the minutes asking and receiving supplies until Oct. 16, 1798, when they join with Windy Cove and Rocky Spring in calling Robert Wilson, who accepted and became their first regular pastor. The name was changed to Lebanon Oct. 23, 1800 when we find this minute, "A written petition was presented from the Trustees of the congregation on the Little Calf Pasture praying that their newly erected Meeting House may be known and distinguished on the minutes of Presbytery by the name of 'Lebanon Meeting House' and the congregation by the name of Lebanon Congregation," which was granted.(1) It is now united with Craigsville in pastoral services and has a membership of forty.(2)

21. Warm Springs

The first definite mention of this church is Oct. 26, 1790, when Presbytery receives "verbal supplications from the settlement of Jackson's River near Warm Springs." We find it again several times under "Jackson's River near Warm Bath," or just "at Warm Bath," asking and receiving supplies.(3) As far as we know they had no regular pastor during the eighteenth century. The old meeting house stood several miles west of Warm Springs near the road. The present church is in the village

(1) MS. Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.
(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 274.
(3) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.

and has a membership of 227, and Rev. J.T.McCutchan is pastor.⁽¹⁾

22. Jackson's River.

This church occurs first on the records for Oct. 18, 1770, when Charles Cummings is appointed to preach there one Sabbath, and frequently thereafter until the end of the century asking and receiving supplies.⁽²⁾ Their first preacher for any length of time seems to have been Christopher Clark who refused to put himself under the care of the Presbytery.⁽³⁾

It is not known where this meeting house was located. Jackson's River is over fifty miles long. It may have been Warm Springs, or down further towards Greenwood Church or up near Stony Run Church. Evidently they had more than one meeting place, for Oct. 29, 1783, Samuel Carrick was appointed to preach "one Sabbath at Capt. Dean's on Jackson's River, and one Sabbath in the bend of the same river." Again, beginning April 27, 1790 "William Wilson's on Jackson's River occurs frequently. April 21, 1797 Robert Davis was appointed one Sabbath at the "head of Jackson's River," and one at "Robert Armstrong's on Jackson's River." Services were also held at "Jacob Warwick's on Jackson's River," between Oct. 26, 1790 and Oct. 12, 1793.⁽⁴⁾

Dunlap's, and Potts Creek must have been either on or near Jackson's River, for April 10, 1787 we find them united with Jackson's River asking for the ordination of Christopher Clark. Dunlap's Creek occurs once more April 21, 1797, receiving supplies.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 273.

(2) See MS. Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

(3) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby., April 10 & Oct.23, 1787.

(4) MS. Rec. Lexington Presby. (5) Ibid.

23. Jennings's Gap (Branch)

This church, which was about twelve miles west of Staunton and is extinct today, was strong enough to make their cry heard for supplies April 7, 1762. It is sometimes called "Jenning's Gap" and sometimes "Jenning's Branch." The last mention is for April 9, 1772, when they ask for supplies.(1)

Pendleton County, W.Va.

Smith's Creek.-- As early as July 19, 1759 we find that a petition "from Smith Creek in Augusta and Frederick was read" in Presbytery asking for supplies.(2) At this time Augusta and Frederick had no western limit, and it is likely that this petition came from Pendleton County just South of Franklin.

Pendleton.-- Is mentioned receiving supplies Sept. 23, 1792, when Poage is appointed to preach one Sabbath, and Oct. 17, 1798, when Wilson, McCue, and Robert Logan are all appointed to preach there.(3)

Upper Tract.-- Occurs twice on the records receiving supplies, April 24, 1794 when Lyle is appointed to preach there and April 19, 1796 when Davis is appointed to preach there.(4)

Other Meeting Houses

Following are listed some churches or meeting houses that are not in existence today or have different names:

Col. Lewis's.-- April 26. 1758, Patillo appointed one Sabbath.(5)

Fort Young.-- April 12, 1775, Irvin appointed one week day.(6)

(1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presbytery. (2) Ibid.
(3) MS.Rec.Lexington Presbytery. (4) Ibid.
(5) MS.Rec.Hanover Presbytery (6) Ibid.

Antony's Creek.-- Three times, Oct. 29, 1777--April 21, 1797, asking and receiving supplies.(1)

Indian Creek.-- Occurs first time Oct. 29, 1777 supplicating for supplies, and the last time, April 19, 1796, when Davis is appointed one Sabbath "at mouth of Indian Creek."(2)

Sympson's Creek.-- Sept. 26, 1786, Supplicating for supplies.(3)

Knap's Creek.-- Three times, May 2, 1791, Lyle appointed one Sabbath; Oct. 15, 1794, Montgomery one Sabbath "at Capt. Poages on Knap's Creek;" and Apr. 19, 1796, Davis appointed one Sabbath.(4)

Patton's Burgh.-- Four times, May 2, 1791--Sept, 23, 1797, each time receiving supplies.(5)

Even's Church.-- Twice, May 2, 1791 and April 24, 1793, when Lyle is appointed each time for one Sabbath.(6)

George Poage's.-- Oct. 12, 1793, Wilson appointed one Sabbath.(7)

Hague's.-- Oct. 15, 1794, Campbell appointed one Sabbath.(8)

Middle Creek.-- Oct. 15, 1794, Grigsby appointed one Sabbath.(9)

Kelleys.-- April 19, 1796, Davis appointed one Sabbath.(10)

Widow Flemings.-- April 19, 1796, Davis appointed one Sabbath.(11)

Wm. Poage's.-- Apr. 19, 1796, Davis appointed one Sabbath.(12)

Muddy Creek.-- Twice, April 21, and Sept 23, 1797, Robert Wilson appointed one Sabbath each time.(13)

Marietta.-- Sept. 23, 1797, Graham appointed one Sabbath.(14)

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover and Lexington Presbys.

(3) MS. Rec. Lexington Presbytery.

(5) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(11) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(9) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

(7) Ibid.

(10) Ibid.

(13) Ibid.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XII

OLD CHURCHES IN MONTGOMERY PRESBYTERY

Some of the early settlers in the Shenandoah Valley pushed on south into what is now Montgomery Presbytery in the late thirties and early forties, and choosing out land began to build their homes. John Marlin and John Salling, some years before this, discovered Roanoke River, probably in the vicinity where Roanoke now stands.⁽¹⁾ James McAfee received a grant of 300 acres in what is now Roanoke County, and this was followed by others among whom we find such names as Phillips, Woods, Lark, Garwood, Murray, Atkins, Hammon, Dillman, Armstrong, Glenn, etc.--many of whose descendants are still in this section. The rich Catawba Valley was not settled until about 1770.⁽²⁾

Montgomery Presbytery was set off from Lexington Presbytery in 1843, and following will be given what we know of the old churches in the present bounds of the Presbytery. The early history of most of these churches is clouded in great obscurity because of the lack of records, and the changing of names. To a great extent this section was missionary territory until after the beginning of the eighteenth century.

(1) See Chapter this volume "Early Settlements in the Valley, p. 143-144.

(2) History Roanoke County, Jack, 9-12; and History Roanoke County, McCauley, 33-37.

1. Roan Oak

At the meeting of Hanover Presbytery in Cumberland Jan. 25, 1758 we find the first mention of "Roanoak" church asking for supplies. April 3, 1761 Brown was appointed to supply them one Sabbath, and the name occurs frequently asking and receiving supplies afterward on down through the end of the century. April 18, 1766, Mr. Todd was appointed "to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Roan Oak in Augusta between this and our next." (1) At the same meeting Mr. Brown was appointed "to ordain Elders in the congregation on Roan Oak in Augusta before our next." (2) This shows that the church was organized in 1766, if not before. The probability is that it was organized on or before their first petition to Presbytery in 1758.

May 1, 1776, we find a supplication from "the head waters of the Roan-Oak," which continues on down through the end of the century. This distinction most likely means that^a second place had been opened for worship farther up towards the head of the River. Two years later, April 29, 1778 a further distinction is noted in "a petition from the North-fork of Roan-Oak." (3)

June 9, 1779 Caleb Wallace accepted a call from "the inhabitants of Roan-Oak in Botetourt County." This may have not included the head of Roan-Oak, for Oct. 26, 1781, Wallace was appointed to preach there one Sabbath, and they ask for supplies again the next spring. May 18, 1782, Andrew McClure accepted "a call from the North and South Fork of Roan-Oak." (4)

(1) At this time Augusta Co. included all southwestern Va.
(2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Ibid.

The first occurrence on the Lexington Records is April 14, 1789, when Crawford is appointed to preach there two Sabbaths. After this it occurs frequently through 1800 asking and receiving supplies. May 2, 1791 the North and South Forks of Roan Oak again are asking for supplies, and Lyle is appointed several times to visit them. Oct. 17, 1798, Chipley is appointed one Sabbath "at Walton's on Roan Oak," and also one Sabbath "at Woods on the North Fork of Roan Oak," and also "to preach at the head of Roan Oak." Oct. 17, 1799, "the congregations of North and South Roan Oak " presented a call to Chipley, and Presbytery ordered him to give them two-thirds of his time. Nov. 18, 1800 he was definitely appointed to preach for them one Sabbath.(1)

It is not possible to say definitely what happened to these Roan Oak Churches, but it is not likely that all of them entirely ceased to exist. Possibly the Salem Church grew out of one or more of them. Should this possibility be true, then Roan Oak Church would be the mother of all the churches in Roanoke County.

2. Salem (Montgomery County)

Salem occurs for the first time on the Records for Oct. 14, 1772, "supplicating for supplies." It is found again June 2, 1773 and Oct. 27, 1778, each time asking for supplies. This was likely the same as "Salem in Montgomery County" occurring Oct. 23, 1781 asking for supplies.(2) There is no record of any supplies being sent them until between June 10, 1793 and

(1) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby. (2) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.

April 10, 1798, during which time Erwin, Robert Wilson, and Chipley were all appointed to preach in "Montgomery County.(1) However, supplies were evidently sent before 1793, for May 6, 1790, Capt. Thomas Logwood was appointed to get subscriptions from Salem for the Family Bible.

3. Peaks

This church called "Peaks of Otter" in the old records is located about four miles north of Thaxton, Va. We first find in on the records for April 3, 1761, when Brown is appointed to preach for them one Sabbath. It occurs then every year through 1765 asking and receiving supplies.(2)

The church was organized on or before 1764.(3)

David Rice.— Rev. David Rice was their pastor in connection with Bedford and Concord from 1766 to 1777. Oct. 29, 1777 he was released from Concord and gives his whole time to Peaks of Otter. He was dismissed from that relation by Presbytery May 21, 1783 to accept a call from Kentucky,(4) where he became famous as a pioneer in the Presbyterian Church. He is known there as "Father Rice. He was born in Hanover, Dec. 10, 1733, of plain pious Welsh parents who were farmers. He grew up during the rise of Presbyterianism in Hanover, witnessing "Morris' Reading Houses," and Robinson's and Davies' preaching. He was converted under the latter's ministry, attended Todd's School as a boy, and graduated from Nassau Hall in 1761 (the year

(1) MS.Records Lexington Presbytery. At this time Montgomery County had much more territory than it has today.

(2) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (3) Manual Montgomery Presby.

(4) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby,-above dates,also Oct. 19, 1770.

Davies died). He was ordained at Cub Creek Oct. 9, 1762. The next October he accepted "a call Mr. Davies former congregation," from which he was released to accept the call to Bedford in 1766. He was an uncle of John Holt Rice, who meant so much to Virginia Presbyterianism in the nineteenth century. He married the daughter of Samuel Blair, of Faggs Manor, by whom he had eleven children, many of whose descendants live in Virginia. He died in his 83rd year, 1816. His last words were, "Oh when shall I be free from sin and sorrow?"(1)

After Rice's departure, the Peaks Church again depend upon Presbytery for supplies until March 28, 1785, when they presented a call to James Mitchell, which he considered and later accepted. James Turner was called as Collegiate pastor May 10, 1792, and accepted. They both remained until after 1800,(2) and Mitchell served 54 years, until 1841. He lived to be 94 and was affectionately called "Father Mitchell."(3) Their present pastor is Rev. S.M.Query, and their membership is 44.(4)

4. Bedford

The first mention of Bedford on the minutes of Presbytery is for April 1, 1761, when they petition for supplies. Oct. 9, 1761 James Waddell was appointed half of his time there until the Spring meeting. From this time we find a continuation of petitions and appointment to Bedford until Oct. 15, 1766, when David Rice accepted a call to "the congregations of Bedford."

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 78-81.

(2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(3) Cub Creek Church, Gaines, 46.

(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, 275.

One of these congregations was located at "Bedford Court House," and the other was most likely "Peaks of Otter." (1) October 30, 1777, Mr. Rice was released from the "congregation of Concord," (which he had taken under his care since accepting the call to Bedford) that he might give his whole time to Peaks of Otter. It is to be noted that "Bedford" is not mentioned in this minute, and it does not occur on the eighteenth century records after 1766. (2) It is possible that for a time, at least, they joined in worship with the stronger "Peaks of Otter" church. There is a live church in Bedford today with 250 members. (3)

5. Pisgah (Bedford County)

This church was most likely organized about 1787 by James Mitchell, pastor of Peaks of Otter. The first occurrence on the minutes is for the meeting of Presbytery there Oct. 16, 1789. May 6, 1790, Samuel Claytor was appointed to take subscriptions from this church for a Family Bible. Presbytery met there again Oct. 19, 1797, and also Oct. 24, 1799. (4) Foote speaks of James Mitchell as pastor of "Peaks and Pisgah in Bedford." (5) This church has either changed its name or been absorbed by another church. It is not mentioned on the records today.

6. High Bridge.

High Bridge Presbyterian Church is about three miles south of the Natural Bridge in Rockbridge county. The early settlers called this natural wonder, "The High Bridge," or "the Rock

(1) MS.Rec. Hanover Presbytery, -dates above, also Oct. 7, 1763.
(2) MS.Rec. Hanover Presbytery. (3) Min.Gen.As., 1931, p. 275.
(4) MS.Rec. Hanover Presbytery. (5) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 453.

Bridge"--the former is preserved in the name of the Presbyterian church, and the latter in the name of the county.(1)

The church was organized about 1770, and "High Bridge" is first found on the records for April 12, 1769, when John Brown was appointed to supply one Sabbath. The name "Rockbridge" occurs twice, evidently referring to the same church, in 1771:(2)

April 11, 1771, "A supplication from Rockbridge congregation was given in by James Gilmore for supplies, who also presented a verbal petition against being disunited from Hall's congregation."

Oct. 9, 1771, "Supplication for supplies from Rockbridge, and particularly for the assistance of Mr. Craig in adjusting the seat of worship, and bounds of their congregation, by John Poage, Jr."

In 1772 and 1773 Charles Cummings and Caleb Wallace were each appointed one Sabbath. Oct. 26, 1775 they joined with Oxford and Falling Spring in calling Samuel McCorkle, but he declined. April 29, 1778, they join again with these same two churches, and again are called "Rockbridge, in calling James McConnel, who accepted and was ordained at the first meeting of Presbytery at High Bridge, June 18, 1778. He remained until March 1785,⁽³⁾ after which time we again find them asking and receiving supplies until 1791. Sept. 20, 1791 Rev. Samuel Houston accepted a call from Falling Spring for two-thirds of his time, and though the records are silent as to the other third of his time, it is most likely that it was given to High Bridge from the beginning. Oct. 18, 1799, Presbytery appointed "Samuel Houston, Bishop of the united congregations of Falling Spring and High Bridge" as an alternate to the General Assembly. He continued their beloved pastor for forty years through 1831.(4)

(1) High Bridge Church and Cemetery, 3; Also MS.Rec.Hanover pr.

(2) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (3) Ibid. (4) MS.Rec.Lexington Pr.

He was followed by a succession of splendid men among whom we might name Revs. Philip B. Price, 1869-1884 and Bolling Hobson, 1911-1914, 1921-1926, as outstanding.(1) The present pastor is Rev. B.L. Wood, and their membership is 196.(2)

The present brick building, erected in 1904 and enlarged in 1922 is the third building used by the congregation.(3)

The first Elders were Hugh Barclay, James Gilmore, and John Logan. Joseph Walker attended Presbytery as an Elder from High Bridge, April 18, 1796.(4)

7. Falling Spring.

This church, located near Glasgow, is supposed to have been organized about 1770. Oct. 26, 1775 they were large enough to join in a call with Oxford and High Bridge for Samuel McCorkle, which he declined, but was appointed to supply them until the spring meeting. April 29, 1778, James McConnel accepted a call to Rockbridge, Oxford and Falling Spring churches and remained until March 1785.(5)

The first meeting of Presbytery at Falling Spring was Oct. 24, 1780, and the only one during the century.(6)

Sept. 20, 1791 "a call was presented from the church of Falling Spring to the Rev. Samuel Houston for two-thirds of his time, which he accepted," and remained until after the beginning of the new century.(7) Rev. H.L. Cathey is their present

(1) High Bridge Church and Cemetery, 4.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 275.

(3) High Bridge Church and Cemetery, 3.

(4) Ibid.; MS. Rec. Hanover presby, Apr. 11, 1771; Also Lexington Pr.

(5) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (6) Ibid.

(7) MS. Rec. Lexington Presby.

pastor and they have a membership of 174.(1)

Elders.-- The names of the following Elders from Falling Spring appear on the records each for the first time--Joseph Snodgrass, April 27, 1790; Wm.Paxton, April 24, 1792; Joseph Walker, Oct. 8, 1793; and John Greenlee, April 10, 1798.(2)

8. Fincastle (Botetourt)

Botetourt County was organized in 1769, and five years later Oct. 26, 1774, Rice was appointed by Presbytery to preach in "Botetourt" two Sabbaths. The next October Templeton and Brown were appointed to preach there, and two years later, Oct. 29, 1777, they ask for supplies and Edward Crawford was sent to them.(3) About 1882 he moved his residence to Botetourt County, where he remained until sometime between 1792-1794 as pastor of "Botetourt and Oxford."(4)

Beginning with Sept. 23, 1792 we find the church receiving supplies from Presbytery again. Several different places of meeting are designated: "Capt. Paxton's in Botetourt," Oct. 12, 1793; "Leather deals in Botetourt," April 19, 1796; and "Tabscots in Botetourt," occurs first for April 21, 1797.(5)

Another place of meeting, if not the main one in Botetourt County, was Fincastle, the county seat, which was established in 1770 on a tract of 45 acres presented by Israel Christian.(6) It is first found on the church records for Oct. 13, 1774, when "Mr. Cummings was appointed to collect subscriptions for Augusta

(1) Minutes, Gen. Assem, 1931, p.274. (2) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.
(3) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.
(4) MS.Rec.Synod of Va., for Sept 28, 1891.
(5) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.
(6) History Fincastle Presbyn.Church, Holladay.

Academy in Fincastle" congregation, and April 15, 1775 Cols. Wm. Preston and Wm. Christian were appointed to assist him in these collections.(1) That they were called a congregation would lead us to believe they were already organized. The first ruling elders were Nicholas Carper and James Delzell.(2) Capt. Wm. Anderson attended Presbytery as an Elder from Fincastle and Roanoak, Nov. 18, 1800.(3)

Rev. Edward Crawford gave part of his time to Fincastle while he was in Botetourt, and it is generally thought that he organized the church about 1795,(4) but he was dismissed Sept. 24, 1794 to Abingdon Presbytery,(5) and it seems for reasons given above that the church was organized about twenty years before this, on or before 1774. Crawford was followed by Robert Logan who became their stated supply about 1800. Though the church was small and but poorly able to sustain a stated ministry, Mr. Logan, with great self-denial continued to be their pastor until his death in 1828. Since the church has enjoyed a regular succession of pastors down to the present time.(6) The present pastor is Rev. J.A.Armstrong and the membership is 44.(7)

When the county seat was established in 1770 the court set apart a lot for the church, on which an Episcopal Church was built and a rector installed. But the Act of Religious Freedom

(1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Hist. Fincastle Pres.Church,Holladay,11-12.

(3) MS.Rec. Lexington Presbytery.

(4) Hist. Fincastle Presbyn.Church, Holladay, 11-12.

(5) MS.Records Lexington Presbytery.

(6) From the Second Volume of Sessional records prepared in 1845. Given in Hist.Fincastle Presbyn.Church,Holladay.

(7) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 274.

of 1785 took away all support by tithes and they soon became vacant. As the community was made up largely of dissenting Presbyterians, they opened the church for service, and still occupy the same building today, which was remodeled in 1849.(1)

The church yard, called "God's Acre," has been used as a cemetery for more than 150 years. The oldest grave marked by a stone is that of Patsy Harvey, who died in 1795. Another, that of Samuel Patterson, is marked 1797. Many unmarked graves antedate these which hold the ashes of Hancocks, the Prestons, the Hamiltons, the Lockharts, etc.(2)

9. Locust Bottom

This church occurs on the records for the first time Oct. 23, 1781, supplicating for supplies, and Edward Crawford is appointed to preach there one Sabbath. The next spring, May 22, 1782, Mr. Crawford suspended his labors at Sinking Spring "and employed part of his time in the Locust Bottom."(3) It is not known how long he stayed there, but most likely he at least supplied it while he was pastor of Botetourt and Oxford.(4) He was dismissed to Abingdon Presbytery Sept. 24, 1794, and Sept. 21, 1796 Locust Bottom again asks for supplies.(5) In 1887 the old Locust Bottom Church, which stood on the east side of James River less than a mile from Glen Wilton, was abandoned and the churches of Galatia and Glen Wilton organized out of it.(6) Both are small today--Galatia 66 and Glen Wilton 30 members.(7)

(1) Hist. Fincastle Presbyn. Church, Holladay, 13. (2) Ibid. 25-28.

(3) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (4) MS. Rec. Synod of Va., Sept. 28, 1791.

(5) MS. Rec. Lexington Pres. (6) Letter of J.A. Armstrong, Oct. 27, 1931.

(7) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, pp. 274-5.

10. Craigs Creek

This church first occurs on the records for April 7, 1768 when John Craig is appointed to preach for them six weeks. It is included in his report to Presbytery April 13, 1769 as having 45 families and five "representatives"--Malcom Allen, John Crawford, James Wilson, James Robinson, and Samuel Lawrence. April 29, 1778, "a petition from the Cow-pasture and the mouth of Craigs-Creek for supplies by an ordained minister," was presented to Presbytery. Oct. 23, 1781 we have a request from the "head of Craigs Creek," showing that there were two places of meeting. Both of these occur frequently asking and receiving supplies through Sept. 23, 1797. "Bells on Craigs Creek" occurs once, April 21, 1797.(1)

Other Preaching Places

There are several other places for preaching about which we know very little, occurring on the records once or twice only:

Catawba.-- Occurs between Oct. 7, 1761 and Oct. 25, 1782, asking and receiving supplies.(2)

South Side of James River.-- Asks and receives supplies between Oct. 7, 1762 and Nov. 15, 1798, occasionally.(2)

Mouth of the Cow-Pasture.-- There was Presbyterian preaching at the "foot of Cow-pasture," as early as Oct. 26, 1784, when James McConnel was appointed to preach there two Sabbaths.(2) There seems to have been an organization there April 10, 1798 when Robert Wilson asked for supplies "for the congregation on

(1) MS.Records Hanover and Lexington Presbyteries.

(2) MS.Records Hanover Presbytery.

James River at the mouth of the Cow-pasture," and he was appointed to preach there.(1)

Sinking Creek.-- They petition Presbytery for supplies May 1, 1776 and James Templeton is appointed to supply them.(2) If this was the Sinking Creek in Craig County, there is no Presbyterian Church there today.

Pitzer's on James River.-- Occurs first April 24, 1793 when Crawford was appointed to preach, and several times afterwards receives supplies until April 21, 1797.(1)

Wm. Davidson's on James River.-- Occurs first Oct. 26, 1790 when Houston was appointed to preach, and frequently asks and receives supplies through Oct. 17, 1798.(1)

Capt. Charles Christians.-- October 19, 1797, Baxter appointed to preach there. (2)

New Glasgow.-- Oct. 19, 1797, Baxter appointed to preach.(2)

(1) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.

(2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XIII

OLD CHURCHES IN ROANOKE PRESBYTERY

Early Settlements.— About the year 1735, Presbyterians began to settle east of the Mountains in the Southern central part of Virginia, now in Roanoke Presbytery, on Cub and Buffalo Creeks, by the influence of John Caldwell, who himself settled on Cub Creek. This was the same Mr. Caldwell who overtured the Synod in 1738 to procure the favor of the Governor of Virginia in allowing some Presbyterians, who were meditating a settlement in the remote parts of Virginia, the liberty of their consciences in all religious matters. As a reward for his efforts James Anderson was sent with a letter to Gov. Gooch, which was ^{answered} favorably, and it is most likely that these settlements in the Central and Southern parts of Virginia were included in the Governor's expressed good will.⁽¹⁾ Though these settlements were east of the mountains they were all at that time remote from centers of population, and seem to have enjoyed general religious freedom. These were followed in quick succession by settlements at Concord and Hat Creek in Campbell County.⁽²⁾

Early Ministers.— James Anderson most likely visited these settlements on his itinerary in 1738. John Thompson paid them an extended visit in 1739. The Manuscript History of Lexington

(1) See pp. 159-161.

(2) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 101-102.

Presbytery states that "he took up voluntary collections for the preachers of the Gospel, and in doing justice to his memory it is proper to observe that he was active in promoting the Presbyterian cause in Virginia." He was a man of great vigor and took an active part in the affairs of the church. He lived for a short time at Buffalo, to which place Rev. Richard Sankey, his son-in-law, removed with his congregation. Later he removed to North Carolina and died in the bounds of Centre Congregation.(1) William Robinson preached with great success in Charlotte, Prince Edward, and Campbell counties in the spring of 1743. It is likely that most of the men visiting Hanover also visited some of these churches. However, we have no proof of this further than "Hat Creek in Campbell county was consecrated with the prayers of Gilbert Tennent.(2)

Roanoke Presbytery was organized at Lynchburg April 14, 1859, and we shall attempt here to give short sketches of the eighteenth century churches located in territory now in the bounds of Roanoke Presbytery. The early history of some of these churches is clouded in greater obscurity than in some other sections of the State. This because of the loss or lack of records, and the changing of names of churches. A large part of this section was missionary territory during the eighteenth century. Nevertheless some of that same noble race of Scotch-Irish were among its first settlers, and, as was their habit they remembered their God, built places for worship and endeavored to secure the ministrations of the Gospel.

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 105, 118-9. (2) Ibid. 145.

1. Cub Creek.

Cub Creek congregation was made up of a colony of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians led by John Caldwell, between 1735 and 1738. The first regular Presbyterian minister to preach here was most likely Rev. James Anderson, while on his way with a message to Governor Gooch in 1738. Rev. John Thompson visited the colony in 1739 on his way to North Carolina. Rev. Wm. Robinson visited them on his way back from North Carolina in 1744 and preached with great success. In 1745 Rev. John Blair paid them a short visit, and in 1747 Rev. Samuel Davies became their first pastor, and most likely organized them into a church. He continued their pastor until the coming of Robert Henry in 1753, who, however, was not installed until June 1755, after Davies returned from Europe.(1)

Robert Henry.— Mr. Henry was born in Scotland, graduated from New Jersey College in 1751, ordained by New York Presbytery in 1753, and was the fourth named minister in Hanover Presbytery constituted in 1755. He was ardently pious and had a great fund of humor. A friend of his once said that "he required grace enough for two common men to keep him in order and he had it." Mr. McAden tells us of visiting him in 1755. "I was much regressed," he says, "by a relation of Mr. Henry's success among his people...scarcely a Sabbath passing without some life and appearance of the power of God." He was very animated in his preaching, and his natural vein of humor, often breaking out in his sermons, rendered him peculiarly acceptable

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 102-105, 118; II, 50-51; Cub Creek, Gaines, 15-20; and Hist. Roanoke Presby and Congrs., 47-53.

especially to the negroes, among whom he gathered many converts,(1) as well as among the whites. Mr. Davies says of him June 3, 1757, "My honest friend Mr. Henry has had remarkable success last winter among the young people of his congregation. No less than seventeen of them were struck to the heart by one occasional evening lecture." He died May 8, 1767 and was buried at Cub Creek.(2)

Mr. Henry was not in the habit of reading his sermons, or even of writing. Short notes of preparations were all he used, and not always those. It is said of him that on a certain occasion he thought he ought to prepare himself with greater care than usual, and having written a sermon, he commenced reading from a small manuscript in his Bible. Of course he appeared to go on tamely. A gust of wind suddenly swept the paper from the Bible. He watched it sail along to an old elder's seat, who had been listening seriously, and as the paper fell at his side he deliberately put his foot upon it. Mr. Henry waited for him to bring it back to him, but the old gentleman looked as if nothing had happened, and he was forced to finish his sermon the best way he could. It was the end of his taking manuscripts into the pulpit.(3)

Another interesting incident is told about Mr. Henry's complete absorption with things of the Spirit which led him occasionally into laughable exhibitions of absentmindedness. It was

(1) The erection by the negroes of Charlotte County 165 years later of "Henry Church," bears testimony to the man and the lasting gratitude of that appreciative race. (Cub Creek Church, 20)

(2) Sks. of Va., Foote, II, 49-52; Cub Creek Church, Gaines, 22.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 52.

his custom in riding to Briery Church, where he preached alternate Sundays, to drop the reins upon the neck of his horse as he rode through the forest, and to engage in prayer aloud. On one occasion he was so absorbed in this exercise that his horse reached the door of the home in which he was to lodge before he had ended his devotions.(1)

After the death of Mr. Henry Cub Creek occurs regular upon the minutes asking and receiving supplies for about seven years. Oct. 19, 1770, David Rice was ordered by Presbytery to give one-fourth of his time to Cub Creek, which he seems to have done for about a year. April 14, 1774, they joined with Little Falling River in calling Caleb Wallace, which he later accepted, and was ordained at a meeting of Presbytery at Cub Creek, Oct. 13, 1774.(2)

Caleb Wallace.-- Was born in Charlotte County, and graduated at Princeton in 1770. He removed from Cub Creek, June 10, 1779 to Roan-Oak in Botetourt, and in 1783 emigrated to Kentucky. Abandoning the ministry he entered upon the profession of law, was successful, and became a Judge of the Supreme Court.(3)

Rev. James B. Mitchell, a resident of Cub Creek, was pastor of the church from about 1784-1786.(4) Rev. Drury Lacy preached for them occasionally in 1787 and 1788. October 29, 1791 he is reported as having charge of Cub Creek and Walker's church. He was followed by Rev. Archd. Alexander Nov. 7, 1793, who continued until April 14, 1797. Rev. John Holt Rice became their pastor in 1804. During all these intermissions between pastors

(1) Cub Creek Church, Gaines, 20. (2) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby.

(3) Ibid.; Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 105.

Presbytery supplied them as frequently as possible.(1) The church has given the best part of her life to the formation of other churches in Charlotte County, but still exists with eighteen members.(2)

Buildings.— Cub Creek church is located near Charlotte Court House, upon ten acres of land given "for the use of a Presbyterian Meeting House," by David Caldwell. The old log meeting house stood near the old graveyard just a short distance from the present site.(3)

Elders.— The first Elders from Cub Creek that we know of were John Caldwell, who first occurs on the records for Sept. 24, 1760; David Caldwell, June 16, 1762; John Holt, Wm. Cook, Wm. Morton, James Torrington, Oct. 17, 1770; and Robert Caldwell, Oct. 12, 1774.(4)

2. Hat Creek

Hat Creek Church is located seven miles north of Brookneal in Campbell county. The first settlements of Scotch-Irish which formed the foundation of this church were also introduced by John Caldwell between 1735 and 1738. Rev. John Thompson spent some time in Campbell County in 1739, and most likely visited this colony.(5) In 1740 a colony of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians migrated from Pennsylvania to the slopes of Eastern Virginia in Campbell County, allured by the cheapness of the land, and its suitableness for tobacco-growing. Their leader was John

(1) MS.Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.279.

(3) Cub Creek Church, Gaines, 9-14.

(4) MS.Records Hanover Presbytery.

(5) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 102-105, 118.

Irvin, "a typical Scotch-Irish-er," pious, sagacious, bold, and persevering. His grandson, Wm. Irvin, tells us that, "During the first year the settlers cleared land, built log cabins, and planted crops. The next year, 1741, they assembled and by their united labor built, on a gentle eminence, a log church. (On that site the present house of worship, the fourth in succession, stands). This done, they sent back to Pennsylvania for the Rev^d Gilbert Tennent, who had promised to visit them when their church was completed. He came, and preached for them a whole year; and before he left, organized the church. This was done in 1742. The only Elder of the original Session whose name has come down is John Irvin." (1) This church was most likely attached to the Presbytery of New Brunswick at this time, as Gilbert Tennent was a member of that Presbytery.

The first mention of this church on the records is for Oct. 7, 1763, when Richard Sankey was appointed to preach for them a week day. David Rice evidently preached there for a while previous to Oct. 19, 1770, when he is reported having sold his residence at Hat Creek. After this they are reported often on the minutes asking and receiving supplies, occasionally for a month at a time until about 1788. Oct. 11th of this year, Wm. Mahon was ordained after a request for his ordination by Hat Creek, Concord, and Walker's churches. He evidently took charge of Hat Creek and Concord about this time, though not likely their installed pastor. Sept. 14, 1791, Mahon is reported having care of Hat Creek and New Concord, which he retained

(1) MS. of Wm. Irvin. Given in History of Roanoke Presby. 55-56.

until late in 1795. Oct. 30, 1795 the Clerk was ordered to dismiss him before the next meeting if he so desired, and this was done. They again depend upon Presbytery for supplies until April 19, 1798. May 9, 1799, Archd. McRobert is reported supplying them.(1) Hat Creek today has 156 members and Rev. R.G. McNair is pastor.(2)

3. Buffalo

Buffalo church is located about eight miles from Pamplin, in Prince Edward County, and though now weak numerically and financially, is, nevertheless, rich in her past history, being one of the six pioneer churches established in Virginia, about 1740.(3) The first settlements were made on Buffalo Creek between 1735 and 1738 of Scotch-Irish through the influence of John Caldwell. Rev. John Thompson visited the colony in 1739 and spent some time there, and probably established the church.(4) His son-in-law, Rev. Richard Sankey, who had settled near Carlisle, Penn., removed with his congregation because of the Indian Wars following Braddock's defeat July 9, 1755, to the more peaceful frontiers of southern Virginia, and they took their abode in the fertile region of Buffal Creek in Prince Edward County.(5) Mr. Sankey was received by Hanover Presbytery April 2, 1760, and installed at a meeting of Presbytery at Buffalo Sept. 24, 1760--the first mention of Buffalo on the records.(6)

(1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presbytery. (2)Min.Gen.As.,1931,p.279.
(3) MS.Sketch Buffalo Church, Ponton.
(4) Sketches of Va., Foote,I,102-5,118-9; Hist.Roanoke Pr.63.
(5) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 71.
(6) MS.Rec. Hanover presbytery.

Elders.— In 1761, Samuel Cunningham conveyed to John Caldwell, James Donald, John Cunningham, and Wm. Watson, three acres, one quarter and eight poles, for the sum of five shillings, for the use and behalf of the Presbyterian congregation in Buffalo settlement.(1) These were most likely elders, or at least some who were responsible for the congregation. The first Elders that we definitely know of were John Caldwell, Wm. Baldwin, John Daniel, and Nathaniel Price, who attended a meeting of the session Aug. 31, 1804.(2)

Richard Sankey.— Mr Sankey remained the faithful pastor of Buffalo until his death in 1790. He was born in North Ireland about 1700, and is described as a small, very bowlegged man, with a square face and high cheek bones. He wore a wig and bands. He was an exceptional Hebrew Scholar, often carrying his Hebrew Bible to the pulpit with him for use in criticisms and quotations. He was a minister for more than half a century with an unblemished reputation.(3) He was a champion of Religious Liberty in his community. We find his name heading a list of 160 names signed to a petition sent to the House of Delegates in October 1776 pleading for them to "pull down all church establishments, abolish every tax upon conscience and private judgment, and leave each individual to rise or sink according to his merit, and the general laws of the land."(4)

Mr. Sankey was followed by Mathew Lyle who accepted a call from Briery and Buffalo Oct. 22, 1794,(5) and remained with them

(1) MS.Sketch Buffalo Church, Ponton. (2)MS.Hist.Roanoke Pr.,69.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 76-77.

(4) MS.Sketch Buffalo Ch.,Ponton. (5) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.

until his death in 1827. Since they have had a regular succession of pastors.(1) Their present pastor is Rev. H.L. Reeves, and their membership is thirty.(2)

4. Briery

Briery Presbyterian Church, located five miles north of Keysville, had its beginning in one of Samuel Davies visits. While travelling through that frontier section, Mr. Davies' companion inquired for lodging for them at the home of Little-joe Morton. On account of Davies being a "New Light" preacher they debated it before receiving him, but their genial hospitality won. As was his custom Mr. Davies had his devotions with the family, and in the morning he passed on. However, this led to both Mr. and Mrs. Morton's conversion, and like Mr. Morris of Hanover, Littlejoe Morton began to talk and pray with his neighbors, and to have worship on the Sabbath. Mr. Davies visited this neighborhood of Little Roanoke and Briery again, and, finding so many confessing their faith, he organized them into a congregation.(3)

Rev. Robert Henry was constituted their pastor June 4, 1755, which he must have retained until about 1766, for from Oct. 16, 1766 until Oct. 12, 1774 we find Briery asking and receiving supplies.(4)

March 18, 1756 we find "A petition from above 80 Subscribers in Prince Edward County for one-half of Mr. Wrights ministerial

(1) MS.Hist. Roanoke Presby., 64-67. (2) Min.Gen.As., 1931, p.279
(3) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, II, 50.
(4) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

labors." June 8, 1757 Prince Edward joined with Amelia and Lunenburg in calling Mr. Martin, which he declined. From June 16, 1762 to Feb. 1, 1775 Prince Edward frequently asks for and receives supplies. On the latter date they join with Cumberland in calling probationer Samuel S. Smith of New Castle Presbytery, which he accepted, and was installed Nov. 8, 1775. He remained with them until Oct. 28, 1779, when he was dismissed from the congregations of Cumberland and Briery.⁽¹⁾ Note that he accepted calls from Prince Edward and Cumberland and was dismissed from Briery and Cumberland. There were two meeting places for a number of years, but from this time Briery seems to have gained the ascendancy, for the name "Prince Edward," or "P.E. Court House" does not occur again on the records.

Rev. John Blair Smith succeeded his brother by accepting a call from Briery and Cumberland April 25, 1780. He remained, preaching half-monthly, until Oct. 29, 1791, at which time he was dismissed to accept a call to the Pine-Street Congregation in Philadelphia. A revival of religion began in Briery during his pastorate which extended to most of the Presbyterian churches in Virginia.⁽²⁾

Archibald Alexander became their supply in 1793, and Cumberland, Briery, Buffalo, and Cub Creek each gave him a call. While he considered them Presbytery appointed him Nov. 7, 1793 to supply them as if he had accepted the calls. He was ordained at Briery June 7, 1794 and accepted the calls from Briery and Cub Creek

(1) Ibid.; MS. History Roanoke Presbytery, 82.

(2) Ibid.--Records, and History, 82-83.

Oct. 22, 1794. At the same time Matthew Lyle accepted calls from Briery and Buffalo, and was ordained at Buffalo Feb. 13, 1795. They continued collegiate pastors of Briery for about twelve years--Alexander preaching monthly, and Lyle half-monthly. During this time Alexander was released from Briery Nov. 16, 1798, and accepted a similar call again in 1802. He was finally released Nov. 13, 1806 to accept a call to the Third Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia.(1) He was followed by Wm. S. Reid in 1807 for about six months, and then by Moses Hoge who preached in connection with Mr. Lyle until 1820, when he resigned and died about six months later. Lyle was then sole pastor until his death in March 1827.(2)

Elders and Trustees.-- The first ruling Elders were Joseph Morton, George Walton, and Sherwood Walton. These were followed by James Venable, Bryan Ferguson, Josiah Morton, and Charles Allen before the end of the Century. The first Trustees were Joseph Morton, George Walton, and Henry Watkins.(3)

About sixty members were received during the Revival of 1786-1788. Up to the end of the century 180 members had been received into the church besides the first members whose names or numbers are not known.(4)

The people of "Old Briery" are worshipping in the third building upon the same site. At present there are 77 members and Rev. I. E. Hager is pastor.(5)

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Manual Briery Presbyterian Church, 6.

(3) Ibid., 5-6, and back.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid. ; and Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.278.

5. Old and New Concord

The first Scotch-Irish settlements which laid the foundation of these churches were introduced by John Caldwell between 1735 and 1738.⁽¹⁾ Tradition says that Concord church was first called "Reedy Spring," from a spring near its first location.⁽²⁾ A congregation by this name occurs on the records for Oct. 4, 1764, and May 12, 1765, asking and receiving the Sacrament and supplies.⁽³⁾ The second building was located several miles farther east in the direction of the present Old Concord church, and was also called "Reedy Spring." On account of the failure of water, the location was changed again, this time to the present site of Old Concord, and the name changed to Concord.⁽⁴⁾ This would place the organization of the church about 1764.

The name "Concord" first appears on the records for June 18, 1777 when we find Presbytery meeting there. The next mention is Oct. 30, 1777, when David Rice is released from Concord. There is no record of when he took this church under his care, but it must have been shortly after he accepted the call to Bedford in 1766. After Mr. Rice's release Concord depends upon Presbytery for supplies until about 1788. Oct. 11, 1788 Wm. Mahon was ordained after a request for his ordination by Hat Creek, Concord, and Walker's churches. He evidently took charge of these churches from about this time with perhaps the exception of Walker's church. About 1790, this congregation begins to use two meeting places, "Little" or "New" Concord and "Concord" or "Old Concord." May 6, 1790 Andrew Wallace was appointed to

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 102-5.

(2) History Roanoke Presbytery, MS., 109.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(4) MS. History Roanoke Presbytery, 109-110.

take subscriptions in Little Concord for a Family Bible. Sept. 14, 1791, Mahon is reported having the care of Hat Creek, Old Concord, and New Concord,(1) which he retained until late in 1795, when the Clerk, according to orders, dismissed him upon his request.(2) April 15, 1797, Archd. McRoberts is reported supplying Old and Little Concord, which he is still doing May 9, 1799.(3) Their present pastor is Rev. T.A.Guiton, and Old Concord has 52 members while New Concord has 105.(4)

6. Meherrin.

This church occurs first on the records for March 17, 1756 when both Mr. Davies and Mr. Henry were appointed to preach there. After this it occurs regular on the records asking and receiving supplies through Oct. 11, 1767. Mr. Martin preached there quite frequently in 1755-1757, but there is no record of them having a pastor. After 1767 the name drops from the records.(5) The church was reorganized five miles from Chase City in 1863, and dissolved again in 1891. Another church by the same name was organized at Meherrin Station in 1892,(6) and has 38 members today.(7)

7. Anderson Memorial. (Horse-Pasture)

Horse-Pasture is found on the old records three times--Oct. 6, 1768 through Oct. 19, 1797, asking and receiving supplies.(8) Henry Church was organized in the Horse-Pasture neighborhood in

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- (1) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (2) Ibid. for Oct. 30, 1795.
(3) Ibid. (4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 278.
(5) MS. Records Hanover Presby.
(6) MS. History Roanoke Presby., 206-207.
(7) Minutes General Assembly 1931, p. 279.
(8) MS. Records Hanover Presby.

in 1854 with four members.(1) The name was changed to Martinsville in 1892, and to Anderson's Memorial in 1899.(2) At present the church has 223 members with Rev. C.W.Reed as pastor.(3)

8. Walker's Church.

The foundation of this church in Prince Edward county was laid by the Scotch Irish Settlements introduced by John Caldwell between 1735-38.(4) The first mention on the records, which shows that it had existed for some time before, is for April 18, 1788, "A small society in the neighborhood of Walker's Church, formerly considered as an independent church, and under the pastoral care of Mr. McRobert, appeared by their elders at the Presbytery, and requested to be taken under its care, and considered as a part of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia." They also requested supplies, and Drury Lacy was appointed to preach for them. He preached for them occasionally for several years, and Sept. 14, 1791 he is reported as having care of Cub Creek and Walker's Church. We find it again in 1793 and 1797 receiving supplies.⁽⁵⁾ There is no church at this time by that name,-- the name either was changed or the people went into one of the other churches.

9. Bluestone.

Bluestone Church is located at Jefress in Mecklenburg county, and is first mentioned on the records for Sept. 18, 1786 when it is reported vacant. May 6, 1790 Caleb Johnston was appointed

(1) MS.History Roanoke Presby.,255.

(2) Ibid.258; See Minutes of the General Assembly.

(3) Min.Gen.As.,1931,p.279. (4) Sks.of Va.,Foote,I,102-5.

(5) MS. Records Hanover Presby.

to get subscriptions from them for a family Bible. In every report of Churches by Presbytery from Sept. 14, 1791 to May 9, 1799 it is ~~again~~^{still} reported vacant. From April 9, 1795 it occurs every year asking and receiving supplies through the end of the century. The general name of "Mecklenburg" occurs once April 21, 1796 when Archd. Alexander is appointed to supply in that county. "Blue-Stone" was most likely the main place intended.(1) The membership is 34 today and Rev.F.M.Allen is pastor.(2)

10. Halifax.

This name occurs on the records as early as Mar. 18, 1756 when Mr. Henry is appointed to preach there one Sabbath. It continues at almost every meeting to ask and receive supplies from Presbytery until July 29, 1791, and then drops from the records.(3) A Presbyterian Church was organized at Halifax Court House in 1842, and removed to South Boston in 1874.(4)

11. Harris's Creek.

Harris's Creek was in Prince Edward County. John Wright was their first pastor. It occurs in the Records from Jan. 25, 1758 until April 13, 1774, asking and receiving supplies, and then disappears. Henry Patillo was their stated pastor for about two years, beginning, May 5, 1763.(5)

12. Falling River.

Falling River is first found on the records for April 3, 1761, receiving appointments, and continues through Oct. 22, 1782,

(1) Ibid. (2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.278.
(3) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby.
(4) MS. History Roanoke Presby., 209-213.
(5) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

asking and receiving supplies. The names "Little Falling," "Upper Falling," and "Little Falling River in Campbell county," all occur in the few mentions of it, evidently referring to the same place.(1)

13. Pittsylvania County.

Hugh McAden speaks of a church in Pittsylvania County, half a day's ride from his dwelling near Red House Church in North Carolina about 1769. This was most likely the County Line Creek Church where he preached for some time.(2) Three different names of meeting houses occur at various times from May 6, 1790 through April 19, 1798. "Sandy River" is the first and most frequent; "Tomahock" is next, July 9, 1790, occurring a number of times; "Good Hope" occurs for the first time May 10, 1792 and thereafter at almost every meeting. All of these are designated in Pittsylvania County, and successfully ask for supplies at almost every meeting of Presbytery between the dates given above.⁽³⁾ None of these churches exist today under these names.

14. Smith's River.

Smith's River occurs for the first time on the records for Oct. 26, 1784 asking for supplies, and McClure is appointed to preach two Sabbaths "at Smith's River in Henry County." "The head of Smith's River," or "Smith's River," occurs at almost every meeting of Presbytery through April 19, 1798, asking and receiving supplies and the Sacrament.(4)

(1) Ibid. (2) Presbyterianism in Pittsylvania Co, Jones, 1.
(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.
(4) Ibid.

15. Chesnut.

Franklin County occurs first July 9, 1790, and "Chesnut Congregation in Franklin County" occurs first April 1, 1791, both asking for supplies, and they continued to ask and receive supplies and the Sacrament through Oct. 19, 1797. (1)

Other Preaching Places.

Campbell Court House.-- Occurs twice, May 6, 1790 and Oct. 19, 1797--John Depriest taking subscriptions for the Family Bible, and Baxter appointed to preach.(2)

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Ibid.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XIV

OLD CHURCHES IN WEST HANOVER PRESBYTERY

Settlements East of the Blue Ridge.— About the same time that the Shenandoah Valley and southern sections of Virginia were being settled by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, families of Presbyterian origin were establishing themselves along the frontiers east of the Blue Ridge mountains in the present bounds of West Hanover Presbytery. Michael Woods and others came from Ireland in 1734 and settled near Wood's Gap and on Mechums River in Albemarle county and founded the Mountain Plain Congregation. Shortly afterwards settlements were made on Rockfish in Nelson, and founded old Rockfish church.(1) John Thompson, a man of great vigor and very active in church affairs, visited these settlements in 1739.(2) William Robinson preached here with great power in the spring of 1743.(3) These settlements were remote from civilization at that time, and they do not seem to have been bothered in their religious worship.

Old Hanover Presbytery was divided into East and West Hanover Presbyteries in 1829. West Hanover includes today the counties Madison, Orange, Green, Albemarle, Louisa, Fluvanna, Nelson,

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 101-2. (2) Ibid. 118.
(3) Ibid. 126.

Buckingham, Cumberland, Amherst, Appomattox, and a part of Prince Edward.

We will now endeavor to give a brief sketch of the eighteenth century churches in West Hanover Presbytery, which are very incomplete because of the lack of records. Most of the material, as will be seen, is taken from the old Minutes, and they do not contain much about the individual churches.

1. Rockfish.

The first settlements were made in the vicinity of Rockfish among whom were the Monisons, McCreys, Montgomerys, Reids and Robertsons. between 1734 and 1738,^A It is likely that Rev. James Anderson

visited Rockfish with the other Presbyterian settlements in Virginia in 1738. The next year, 1739, Rev. John Thompson spent some time here and he may have organized them.(1) April 4, 1745, "A call and subscription with a supplication from Rockfish and Mountain Plains in Virginia" was presented to John

and presented by John Woods, Hindman, but was finally declined.(2) About 1746 James McCann, who had patented the land in 1745 conveyed to John Reid, James Robertson and Samuel Bell one acre and 35 poles for the Rockfish church, and for the school.(2)
Samuel Black.-- A call was presented to Samuel Black from

Rockfish and Mountain Plains in 1747 and accepted. Mr. Black was born in Ireland and ordained by New Castle Presbytery in 1737. In the division of the Synod in 1745 he sided with Philadelphia and was a member of Donegal Presbytery. He became a member of Hanover Presbytery at the union of the Synods in 1758. Some immoral charges were brought against him by a part of his congregation which occasioned his resignation July 19, 1759, and his early retirement from the ministry. He died about 1771.(3)

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 102, 118; History of Cove Church.

(2) MS. Records of Donegal Presbytery; History of Albemarle, Woods, 129.

(3) Sks. of Va., Foote, II, 75; MS. Rec. Hanover Presby.

The name occurs at practically every meeting of Presbytery until April 11, 1771 when Wm. Irvin accepted a call from the united congregations of Rockfish and Mountain Plains. He remained until sometime in 1775,(1) when he removed for lack of adequate support. But again Sept. 14, 1791 and Oct. 5, 1792 they are reported under Mr. Irvin's care. Nov. 15, 1798 James Robinson accepted a call from the Cove and Rockfish.(2) Today they have 108 members and Rev. J.M.Duckwall is pastor.(3)

2. Mountain Plains

among whom first names as Wallace, Kinkadee, Stockton, McCord, and Jameson,
This section was settled with Scotch-Irish, about the same time as that of Rockfish, with which church they were closely united for the first fifty years. *This church was located near the confluence of Lickinghole Creek and Meckum's River.* They joined with Rockfish in calling John Hindman in 1745, who did not accept, and again in calling Mr. Black in 1747 who accepted and remained their pastor until July 19, 1759.⁽⁴⁾ This original call of Mountain Plains for Mr. Black is still extant, dated Ivy Creek, March 29, 1747.(5) After Mr. Black's resignation they depended upon supplies from Presbytery until Wm. Irvin accepted a call from Rockfish and Mountain Plains April 11, 1771, and remained until October 5, 1792, when he resigned because of ill health. For about seven years after this the records are silent concerning this church, but Sept. 12, 1800 Mr. Irvin is appointed to supply them.(6) There is no church by this name on the records today.

(1) MS.Rec. Hanover Presby.; also see date Oct. 28, 1775.

(2) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (3) Min.Gen.As., 1931, p.280

(4) See Sketch of Rockfish Church above; *also Hist. of Albemarle, Woods, 129.*

(5) See Appendix for a copy of this call.

(6) MS.Records Hanover Presbytery.

3. Albemarle.

Albemarle occurs first on the records for Dec. 3, 1755, asking for supplies "from the people living ~~near~~^{close to} the mountains in Albemarle, near Wood's Gap. Nov. 18, 1756, Mr. Douglass gives a verbal request for some of Mr. Martin's labors, and he was appointed six Sabbaths in Albemarle. The next April they give in a call for him, and he declines. April 26, 1758 they join with Orange and Cumberland and call Mr. Patillo which he also declines. The name occurs receiving supplies on through Oct. 14, 1796,(1) and it is possible that these supplies preached in the Court House at Charlottesville as well as some of the other known places.(2)

4. Cove.

Cove Church is located at Covesville in Albemarle county. Samuel Black preached here, shortly after his coming to Rockfish and Mountain Plains, at the home of George Douglass. Mr. Douglass' house seems to have been used for a meeting place down to 1769.(3)

The name first occurs on the records for Jan. 25, 1758 asking for supplies, and thereafter it occurs frequently, sometimes under the name "Rich-Cove," asking and receiving supplies until 1769. They join with other churches in presenting a call to Mr. Patillo April 26, 1758, which he declined, and also to Mr. Cummings Oct. 15, 1766, which he also declined. April 14, 1769, Samuel Leak accepts a call from "the Cove and Gardens," and remained until his death Dec. 2, 1775. May 1, 1776 Wm. Irvin

(1) Ibid. (2) Hist. Cove Church. (3) Ibid.

accepted a "call to the united congregations of D.S., Rich Cove, and Mountain Plains." He remained until Oct. 5, 1792, after which they again depend upon Presbytery. Nov. 15, 1798 James Robinson accepted a call from the Cove and Rockfish.(1) Today they have 80 members and Rev.J.C.Johnson is pastor.(2)

The first log building must have been erected in 1769 or 1770, for in the latter year Presbytery met there Oct. 17th, and on the 18th adjourned to "the house of George Douglass."(3) It is generally believed that this log meeting house stood near where Mr. Sidney Barnett now lives. A log barn on the land of the late Dr. W.D.Boaz was built from the logs of the old church. A depression where Mr. Irvin had his ice house and the old Graveyard mark the site where he lived. The present brick church was built in 1809.(4)

Three of the first Elders were George Douglass,--1785; Mask Leake,--1813; and Schuyler Harris,--1803. Andrew Hart was made an Elder in 1786--1832.(5)

5. North Garden

North Garden first occurs on the records March 18, 1756 when "Mr. Todd is appointed to preach on a week day at the North-Garden." They continue asking and receiving supplies through Oct. 11, 1767. They joined with D.S. and Rich-Cove in presenting a call to Charles Cummings Oct. 15, 1766 which he declined. April 14, 1769 Samuel Leak accepted a "call or invitation from

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 280.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(4) History Cove Church. (5) Ibid.

the Cove and Garden,"(1) which he retained until his early death Dec. 2, 1775. Mr. Leak possessed a very amiable disposition which many of his numerous descendants have inherited and retained. "The blessing of God has rested on his house; the Lord has chosen from it ministers of his sanctuary."(2)

William Irvin evidently became their pastor May 2, 1776 when he accepted calls from D.S. and Rich-Cove. He is reported their pastor Sept. 18, 1786 and again Oct. 5, 1792. On account of infirmity he gave up his pastorates sometime between 1792 and 1797. In the report of April 15, 1797 he is reported without a charge.(3) The present North Garden Church has 30 members, and is united with Cove and Riverside in pastoral services.(4)

We also find a "South Garden" in connection with North Garden occurring first Oct. 11, 1767, and several times after wards.(5)

6. Dee-Ess.

This church, mostly written "D.S." which are supposed to be the initials of Davis Stockton, occurs first Aug. 26, 1756, when Mr. Martin is appointed to preach at or near there. They depend upon supplies until Oct. 19, 1770 when they join in on the call to Samuel Leak, with the permission of Rich-Cove and the Gardens. He accepted, and was installed the second Wednesday of March 1771. Mr. Leak died Dec. 2, 1775, and Wm. Irvin accepted a call from D.S., Rich-Cove, and Mountain Plains, May 1, 1776. He must have been released from D.S. about 1790, for Sept. 14, 1791 and

(1) MS.Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Sks. of Va., Foote,II, 87-8. (3) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.

(4) Minutes.Gen. Assembly, 1931, p.280.

(5) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

Oct. 5, 1792, Dee-Ess is under the care of Rev. James Waddell, which he must have released before April 5, 1793, when we find Presbytery appointing Wm. Williamson to preach there one Sabbath. May 9, 1799, Wm. Calhoun is reported "Supplying D.S. at present."(1)

7. Pedlar in Amherst.

Pedlar first occurs on the records asking for supplies, Sept. 25, 1760, and Samuel Black is appointed to preach one Sabbath. It also occurs at both meetings in 1761. April 4, 1766 Cummings and Leak are appointed to supply "in Amherst," and Oct. 29, 1777 Doak and Crawford are appointed the same. These appointments were most likely to Pedlar. May 23, 1782, Tamplin was appointed two Sabbaths "at Pedlar Church in Amherst."(2) This is the last record before 1800, and would lead us to believe that it was at least the germ of the present Pedlar Mills Church which is very weak today with only eight members.(3)

8. Buffalo in Amherst.

Buffalo is first mentioned on the records for Oct. 14, 1772 when Wm. Irvin is appointed to preach one Sabbath at "Buffalo in Amherst," and thereafter frequently asks and receives supplies until Oct. 25, 1782, then disappears from the records.(4)

9. Providence in Louisa.

The first mention of Presbyterianism in Louisa is for Nov. 1, 1748, when Samuel Davies obtained a license for a meeting house

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Minutes Gen. Assem., 1931, p. 280.
(4) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

"to be erected on the land of Jospeh Shelton, near Owen's Creek, in the county of Louisa."(1) Davies was their first pastor, continuing most likely until his removal to Princeton in 1759.⁽²⁾ Rev. John Todd was installed as assistant to Davies, and after Davies removal he became pastor of Providence church.(3)

The first mention of Providence on the church records was at the first meeting of Hanover Presbytery, Dec. 3, 1755, when an adjourned meeting was appointed at Providence the second Sabbath of March, 1756. Mr. Todd continued their beloved pastor until his death July 27, 1793. During his pastorate Presbytery met at Providence eight times.(4)

John Todd.-- Mr. Todd, the first minister introduced by Davies to share his labors, graduated from Princeton in 1749, and was ordained by New Brunswick Presbytery in 1751. He came to Virginia early in 1752, and was licensed to preach in Virginia by the General Court April 22, 1752. After Mr. Davies removal, he was for many years the leading man in the Presbytery east of the Blue Ridge. He was a loyal Whig, and a staunch supporter of religious freedom. Beside his regular work he superintended a classical school in his parish for many years, and had a great part in the establishing of Transylvania Seminary in Kentucky. He was very infirm in his latter years, but, to clear himself of the accusation of admitting a gambler to the Lord's table, he attended Presbytery at the Cove in Albemarle in July 1793. Having fully cleared himself from the stains of such a

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 168.
(2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.
(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 46.
(4) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

report he set out horseback for home July 27th, and was found dead in the road. He preached about forty-two years in Virginia. A son, bearing his name, was licensed at the Cove, Sept. 13, 1800, preaching his first sermon where his father had preached his last. For a while he occupied the churches left vacant by his father, and in 1809 removed to Kentucky, leaving none of the name in Virginia.(1)

After his death Providence asks and receives supplies on through the end of the century. At present they have 43 members.⁽²⁾

10. Louisa

Louisa is first found asking for supplies Sept 28, 1757. It occurs twice the next year, and not again until May 6, 1790 when James Waddell was appointed to get subscriptions for the family Bible. It is found then occasionally on on through the end of the century asking and receiving supplies.(3) Rev. R.M.Carr is pastor of Louisa at present, and the membership is 21.(4)

11. Meeky's in Louisa.

This name occurs frequently between April 26, 1758 and April 3, 1761 asking and receiving supplies. Todd is mostly appointed to supply, and, as the name drops out after 1761, it is probable that Todd persuaded them to attend Providence Church.(5)

12. The Fork Congregation.

This name is first found reported Sept. 18, 1786 along with

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 45-49.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 281.

(3) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (4) Minutes Gen.As., 1931, p280.

(5) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby.

Bird and Providence under the charge of Mr. Todd. It was still under his charge at his death,(1) and asks and receives supplies on through the end of the century. There is a "Fork Union" Church today with eighteen members.(2)

13. Cumberland.

This church is located about five miles north of Farmville in Cumberland County. We first hear of the Presbyterians in this section Jan. 10, 1752, when Davies, writing to the Bishop of London, speaks of "about fifteen or twenty families in Cumberland, where there is no place licensed.(3)

They were most likely organized by Samuel Davies in the Spring of 1755, and in July, 1755 Rev. John Wright, of New Castle Presbytery was installed pastor of Cumberland Church,(4) and remained until June 27, 1762. Henry Patillo supplied them from May 5, 1763 until his removal to North Carolina Nov. 7, 1765. For ten years the name occurs frequently asking and receiving supplies. Feb. 1, 1775, they presented a call along with Prince Edward to Samuel S. Smith which he accepted and served them until Oct. 28, 1779. April 25, 1780, his brother, John B. Smith accepted a call to Cumberland and Priery churches, and remained until Oct. 29, 1791. Archibald Alexander was appointed to supply them and several other churches Nov. 7, 1793 as if he was their pastor, which he evidently did until about Oct. 22, 1794, when he accepted the call from Briery and Cub Creek.(5) By this arrange-

(1) Ibid. for Oct. 5, 1792 & Nov. 7, 1793.

(2) Min. General Assembly, 1931, p. 280.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, p.183. (4) Ibid., II, 53.

(5) MS.Records Hanover Presbytery.

ment Cumberland, embracing the area occupied now by Cumberland, Farmville, and College Church, had the services of Drury Lacy, along with his college word, which he continued throughout the end of the century. Mr. Alexander was associated with him at Cumberland in 1797-1798.(1) Rev. R.G.Hutcheson is their present pastor-elect, and their membership is 175.(2)

Cumberland was a very opportune place for Presbytery meetings, there having been nine held there between Nov. 17, 1756, and Nov. 17, 1798. The first meeting after the Union of the Synods of Philadelphia and New York was held here by appointment, July 12, 1758.(3)

14. Deep-Creek.

This name occurs first Oct. 7, 1762, when we find this minute, " Presbytery is to meet at Deep-Creek meeting-house in Cumberland, the second Tuesday in November." Beginning May 5, 1763 Henry Patillo supplied Cumberland, Harris's Creek, Deep Creek, and Amelia for about two years. The last record is for Oct. 16, 1766 when Leak was appointed to supply them one Sabbath.(4)

15. Willis's Creek.

This name occurs first on the records for March 18, 1756 as "that part of Mr. Wright's congregation situated about Willis's Creek." Perhaps because of Mr. Wright's large field, "a verbal supplication in behalf of the people at Willis's was presented by Mr. Wright for a part of Mr. Martin's time" Nov. 18, 1756,

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 499, II, 271.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 281.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presby. (4) Ibid.

and Martin was appointed to supply one Sabbath. Sept. 27, 1758, Henry Patillo accepted a call from the united Congregation of Willis's, the Bird, and Buck-Island." He was dismissed from them because they were "unable to give him a sufficient support," Oct. 7, 1762. This is the last we see of Willis's Creek.(1)

16. Orange.

Orange occurs between Jan. 25, 1758 and May 5, 1763 asking and receiving supplies. Presbytery met at Belle Grove meeting house in Orange county May 1, 1794.⁽²⁾ This was evidently a meeting house that James Waddell had been responsible for, and because it was small was never recorded by the Presbytery. It was named after Mr. Waddell's plantation.⁽⁶⁾

(See back of this sheet)

Other Churches.

Some preaching places occur only once or twice asking and receiving supplies, and these we will mention very briefly here. Perhaps some that belong here in West Hanover Presbytery are given under East Hanover, because of difficulty in locating them.

Secretary's Ford.-- Occurs only once, March 18, 1756, when Mr. Brown is appointed to preach one Sabbath "in Albemarle, between the mountains and the Secretary's Ford."⁽³⁾

Buckingham.-- Occurs once, Nov. 7-9, 1793, James Snoddy asks for supplies and Cary Allen appointed.⁽⁴⁾

Maddison.-- Once, Nov. 9, 1793, Cary Allen Appointed.⁽⁵⁾

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid.

(6) SKS. of Va., Foote, I, 378.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XV

RISE OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN HANOVER

While the Scotch-Irish were busy making themselves homes and planting the germs of many Presbyterian congregations in the Valley, in Southern Virginia, and along the Eastern Base of the Blue Ridge, events of singular interest were happening among the established churchmen in Hanover county and vicinity. Reports of the great religious revival in the northern states that was changing the lives of men began to reach the sections of Hanover and Louisa, and some of the people were stirred to anxiety about their own salvation. To the shame of the Parish clergy, they neither helped nor encouraged this earnest inquiry, and those interested had to look to other means for assistance. This was found first in books, and later God sent them ministers.(1)

Discovery of Good Books.— A few leaves of Boston's Fourfold State fell into the hands of a wealthy planter who became so interested that he sent to England for the book, and another gentleman, Mr. Samuel Morris, got possession of Luther's Commentary on Galations. These books, read along with the Bible, were so different from what they had been hearing from the Parish Church, that both of these gentlemen were deeply affected

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 120.

and led to a saving knowledge of Christ. Near neighbors, possibly including John Symms, James Rice, both uncles of David Rice, and his grandmother Rice, and James Hooper, became interested and gathered to these homes to hear portions of these books read, and to converse on religion. These meetings soon came to be held regular at the home of Samuel Morris.(1)

Morris's Reading House.-- A copy of Whitefield's sermons was later added to their small library of three or four volumes. Mr. Morris, in a letter to Samuel Davies in 1750, tells us that "A considerable number met to hear these sermons every Sabbath, and frequently on week days. The concern of some was so passionate and violent, that they could not avoid crying out, weeping bitterly, &c...My dwelling-house at length was too small to contain the people, whereupon we determined to build a meeting-house merely for reading. And having never been used to social prayer, none of us durst attempt it. By this single means several were awakened, and thier conduct ever since is a proof of the continuance and happy issue of their impressions. When the report was spread abroad, I was invited to several places, to read these sermons, at a considerable distance, and by this means the concern was propagated."(2) Other meeting houses were soon erected, and each was called "Morris's Reading House," which phrase has come down to us as inseparably connected with the rise of Presbyterianism in Hanover.(3)

The beginning of these meetings was probably about 1738 or 1739, and any way before 1740, for in that year Mr. Morris

(1) Life of Rodgers, Miller, 31-36; Memoirs of David Rice, Bishop, 32-33. (2) Historical Collections, Gillies, 331.
(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 120, 122.

laments their inability to hear Mr. Whitefield when he preached in Williamsburg.(1) At first no other exercise than reading was attempted at these gatherings. Such a thing as extempore prayer was utterly foreign to the experience of all, and probably owing to the prejudice against reading prayers, which was done with levity and carelessness in the parish churches, this too was omitted. There was no singing, doubtless because of sheer ignorance of church music.(2)

Influence of Readings.— Mr. James Hunt tells us that "Numbers were pricked to the heart,--the word became sharp and powerful,--'what shall we do,' was the general cry. What to do or say the principal leaders knew not. They themselves had been led by a still small voice, they hardly knew how, to an acquaintance with the truth; but now the Lord was speaking as on Mount Sinai, with a voice of thunder, and sinners, like that mountain itself, trembled to the centre. And it was not long before they had the happiness to see a goodly little number healed by the same word that wounded them, and brought to rejoice understandingly in Christ."(3)

Adopt Name of Presbyterians.— These gentlemen, convinced that the Gospel was not preached at the parish church, absented themselves therefrom, choosing rather to attend these societies for reading. This soon got them in trouble with the strong arm of the law. "Our absenting ourselves from the established church," says Mr. Morris, "contrary, as was alleged to the laws of the

(1) Ibid, 120. (2) Great Awakening, Gewehr, 48.

(3) Ibid. 47; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 120-122.

land, was taken notice of, and we were called upon by the court to assign our reasons for it, and to declare what denomination we were of."(1) For some time they were subject to frequent fines, and at last they were required to appear at Williamsburg and declare their creed and name before the Governor and Council. Here was a difficulty. They did not know by what name to call themselves. Their dilemma is thus described by Mr. Morris: "As we knew but little of any denomination of dissenters, except Quakers, we were at a loss what name to assume. At length recollecting that Luther was a noted reformer, and that his book had been of special service to us, we declared ourselves Lutherans."(2) It was probably some time later when Mr. Hunt and some others, travelling to Williamsburg for an interview with the Governor and Council, discovered on their journey an old volume which so well expressed their religious views in appropriate language, that they presented it to the Governor as their Creed. Gov. Gooch, upon looking at the volume, pronounced them Presbyterians, as the book was the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. After Mr. Robinson's visit they adopted the name Presbyterian, and took the earliest opportunity of connecting themselves with the Presbytery of New Castle. Though this shielded them from prosecution as disturbers of the public peace, it does not appear to have exempted them from fines for absence at church.(3)

Their acquaintance with the Toleration Act of 1689 must have been very slight, if at all, for being members of the established

(1) Historical Collections, Gillies, 331.

(2) Ibid.; Memoirs of Rev. David Rice, Bishop, 35.

(3) Life of Rodgers, Miller, 42; Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 123-4.

Church, no circumstance made their acquaintance with it necessary. Neither is it probable that they knew of Gov. Gooch's promise of protection made in 1738. If they knew of the unlimited toleration granted to the German colony on the Rappahannock, in Madison County; or of the favor extended to the French Refugees at the Manakin towns, on the James River above the falls, they looked upon these as exceptional cases to people from other countries who had no church organization or even a name.(1)

William Robinson.

To William Robinson belongs the honor of preaching the first Presbyterian sermon in Hanover county, Sunday July 6, 1743. He was sent as an evangelist by the New Side Presbytery of New Castle in the winter of 1742-3 to visit the Presbyterian settlements in Virginia and North Carolina. Having spent the winter in North Carolina to the detriment of his health, he returned in the spring and preached with great success in the Counties of Charlotte, Prince Edward, Campbell, and Albemarle. The fame of his preaching here reached Hanover county, and messengers were sent to hear him preach, and ^{instructed that} if his doctrines agreed with their views of religious truth, to invite him to visit Hanover, which he did after some deliberations.(2)

On his arrival in Hanover, he found a large crowd already assembled to hear him. However, before he was permitted to preach he was interviewed by Mr. Morris and others concerning his denomination, his doctrinal and practical views of religion,

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 123. (2) Ibid. 126-8.

and his method of procedure. These things being found to be satisfactory, and upon producing proper testimonials he was permitted to proceed. In the words of Mr. Morris, given seven years later, "On the 6th of July (17)43 he preached his first sermon to us from Luke xiii.3, and continued with us preaching four days successively. The congregation was large the first day, and vastly increased the three ensuing. It is hard for the liveliest imagination to form an image of the condition of the assembly on these glorious days of the Son of Man. Such of us as had been hungering for the word before, were lost in an agreeable surprise and astonishment, and some could not refrain from publicly declaring their transport: we were overwhelmed with the thoughts of the unexpected goodness of God in allowing us to hear the gospel preached in a manner that surpassed our hopes. Many, that came through curiosity, were pricked to their heart; and but few of the numerous assembly on these four days appeared unaffected. They returned with apprehensions of their dangerous condition, convinced of their former entire ignorance of religion, and anxiously inquiring what they should do to be saved. And there is reason to believe, there was as much good done by these four sermons, as by all the sermons preached in these parts before or since.-- Before Mr. Robinson left us, he successfully endeavored to correct some of our mistakes; and to bring us to carry on the worship of God more regularly at our meetings. After this we met to read good sermons, and began and concluded with prayer and singing of psalms, which till then we had omitted."(1)

(1) Historical Collections, Gillies, 332; Life of Rodgers, Miller, 40-43; and Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 46-48.

Because of previously made appointments, Mr. Robinson could only stay four days in Hanover, but these were four full days, not only of preaching but of private instruction and counsel. In this short time much was accomplished. The scattered dissenters were brought together and fired with a zeal for the cause of Christ that was never to die down. The mark he left was not to be erased. As he was leaving he was presented with a considerable sum of money, partly as a remuneration and partly as an expression of gratitude. This he absolutely refused to take at first, but after much insisting, he agreed to take it and give it to a young man studying for the ministry who was in embarrassing circumstances. This young man was Samuel Davies, and "This is the reason," said a pious old lady, "that Mr. Davies came to Hanover; for he often used to say that he was inclined to settle in another place; but that he felt under obligations to the people of Hanover." As far as we know this is the first money contributed in Virginia for the education of young men for the ministry of the Gospel.(1)

Mr. Robinson was born near Carlyle, England, the son of a Quaker physician of eminence and wealth. He came over to America as a young man, disgraced through youthful irregularities, but not degraded. He was converted late one night as he was riding along admiring the beauty of the moon and stars. He began to wonder, "How transcendently glorious must be the Author of all this beauty and grandeur!" Like lightning came the question, "But what do I know of this God? Have I ever sought his favor? or made him my friend?" This impression,

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 128-9.

like a voice from heaven ringing in his ears, never left him till he found God reconciled to him in Christ. Longing to make known that grace, he devoted himself to the Christian ministry, and put himself under the care of New Brunswick Presbytery April 1, 1740. He was licensed the following May at Neshaminy, and ordained Aug. 4, 1741 at New Brunswick.(1)

About all we know of his personal appearance is that smallpox had robbed him of an eye, and that a rather tough exterior clothed a warm heart and a passion to serve.(2)

His race as a preacher was short but glorious. After returning from Virginia, his health continued to decline, "but," says Foote, "his bow abode in strength, and many arrows from the quiver of the Almighty were shot from his withering hands, into the hearts of the King's enemies."(3) Mr. Davies, in speaking of a revival in Maryland, says, "The work was begun and mostly carried on by the instrumentality of that favored man Mr. Robinson, whose success, whenever I reflect upon it, astonishes me. Oh! he did much in a little time, and who would not choose such an expeditious pilgrimage through this world."(4)

He was dismissed to the Presbytery of New Castle March 19, 1746, to become the pastor of St. George's in Delaware, but in the very next month he was called to his heavenly reward. His funeral was preached August 3rd of the same year by Samuel Blair. He bequeathed his library to Samuel Davies, his protege and fellow laborer.(5)

(1) Ibid. 125-6; Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 44-5, foot note.

(2) Great Awakening, Gewehr, 50. (3) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 130.

(4) Ibid. 130; & Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 45, foot note; Historical Collections, Gillies, 337.

(5) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 131-2; Mem. of Rice, Bishop, 45, foot note.

John Blair.

John Blair, at one time Vice-President of Nassau Hall, was the second Presbyterian minister to visit Hanover. The alarm caused by the short visit of Mr. Robinson was greatly increased by the preaching of Mr. Blair, whose amiable deportment, genteel manners, and classical language forbid the idea of attaching either vulgarity or disorder to his religion.(1) Mr. Morris, in his statement to Mr. Davies, says, "Truly he came to us in the fulness of the Gospel of Christ. Former impressions were ripened and new ones made on many hearts. One night in particular, a whole house full of people was quite overcome with the power of the word, particularly of one pungent sentence; and they would hardly sit or stand or keep their passions under any proper restraint."(2)

John Roan.

In the winter of 1744-5, Rev. John Roan, a preacher of eminence and who had established a grammar school on the Neshaminy near Philadelphia, visited the people in Virginia. He stayed longer than any of the former, and "the happy effects of his ministrations" were apparent many years afterwards. Foote tells us, "Mr. Roan had the warmth and deep earnestness of Robinson and Blair, with less prudence and caution; with the activity of Davies, he had less skill in managing an excited multitude. He spoke freely of the parish ministers, publicly and privately, inveighed against their delinquency in morals,

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 133.

(2) Historical Collections Gillies, 332; Life of Rodgers, Miller, 43; Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 48-49.

and their public ministration; and turned the ridicule and scorn of his hearers against the teachers appointed and supported by law. The parish clergy and their friends were excited. Unable to refute the allegations, they appealed to the strong arm of the law to protect their privileges, and restrain both the speech and actions of their adversaries."(1)

Because of this denunciation of the established clergy, the multiplying of converts, the spreading of his popularity with the opening up of new preaching places in neighborhood after neighborhood, together with reports going down to Williamsburg that Roan was turning the world upside down, caused the Governor to deliver a charge in April 1745 to the Grand Jury of the General Court "to make strict inquiry after those seducers, and if they or any of them are still in the government, by presentment or indictment, to report them to the Court, that we, who are in authority under the Defender of our faith, and the appointed guardians to our constitution in church and state, exercising our power in this respect for the protection of the people committed to our care, may show our zeal in the maintenance of the true religion."(2) The next day the Grand Jury presented John Roan "for reflecting upon and vilifying the Established Religion," Edward Watkins for the same, and Joshua Morris for permitting these meetings in his house. However, Mr. Roan returned to Pennsylvania before this meeting of court, and never afterwards visited this section of Virginia.(3)

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 133-4.

(2) Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1706-1788, p.181.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 137-8; Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 49.

At the meeting of the Synod of Philadelphia, May 27, 1745, "A letter from a gentleman in Virginia, with a printed charge given by the Governor of that colony to the grand jury, was laid before the Synod; by which it appears that the government of that colony is highly provoked by the conduct of some of the new party who have preached there, and therefore the Synod judge it necessary to send an address to that governor, informing him of the distinction between this Synod and that separating party."⁽¹⁾

The next morning a letter to the governor of Virginia was brought in and approved, which after thanking the Governor for his former protection to Presbyterians, made it plain that they had no part with the awakening in Virginia, and asked for his further countenance and protection to their missionaries in Virginia. To this letter the governor replied very favorably, apologizing for seeming to suspect the Synod of Philadelphia, and promising their missionaries protection as long as they comply with the laws and do not disturb the public peace.⁽²⁾

There seems to have been no contention about whether dissenters should be tolerated in Virginia since Makemie secured the application of the Toleration Act, but there was contention about how far this toleration should go.⁽³⁾

In the meantime the people of Hanover, in their excitement and trouble, looked to the Presbyteries of New Castle and New Brunswick. In May 1745, the month following Mr. Roan's indictment by the Grand Jury, they sent four delegates, among whom was Mr. Morris, to meet the two Presbyteries that were then

(1) Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1706-1788, p.180.

(2) Ibid, 181-3. (3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 140.

preparing to form a Synod, which by the union of New York Presbytery was duly organized the next September, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Of this mission Mr. Morris says, "The Lord favored us with success. The Synod drew up an address to our Governor, and sent it with Messrs. Tennent and Finley, who were received by the Governor with respect, and had liberty granted them to preach amongst us." (1)

At the meeting of the Synod of New York in the city of New York, October 1746, "A supplication and call for a minister from Hanover in Virginia, was brought into the Synod and read; the Synod doth earnestly recommend the assisting of said people, to the Presbyteries of New Brunswick and New Castle." (2) From these Presbyteries they received their supplies for the next ten years.

Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Finley.

Before the coming of Samuel Davies there are records of five other ministers visiting Hanover. Rev. Gilbert Tennent and Rev. Samuel Finley, whose successful mission to the Governor we have noted above, came in the fall of 1745, and stayed about a week, during which time they refreshed the people of God, and were the means of converting several. (3)

William Tennent and Samuel Blair.

"After they left us," says Mr. Morris, "we continued vacant for a considerable time, and kept our meetings for reading and

(1) Historical Collections, Gillies, 333; Life of Rodgers, Miller, 45; Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 50.

(2) Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1706-1788, p.234.

(3) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 141.

prayer in several places, and the Lord favored us with his presence. I was again repeatedly presented and fined in court for absenting myself from church and keeping up unlawful meetings, as they were called; 'But the bush flourished in the flames.' The next that were appointed to supply us were the Rev. William Tennent and Samuel Blair. They administered the Lord's Supper amongst us; and we have reason to remember it as the most glorious day of the Son of Man.(1) The Assembly was large, and the novelty of the manner of administration did peculiarly engage their attention. It appeared as one of the days of heaven to some of us; and we could hardly help wishing we could with Joshua have delayed the revolution of the heavens to prolong it." (2)

George Whitefield.

Mr. Morris tells us further that "After Mr. Tennent and Blair were gone, Mr. Whitefield came and preached four or five days, which was the happy means of giving us further encouragement, and of engaging others to the Lord, especially amongst the church people, who received the gospel more readily from him than from ministers of the Presbyterian denomination. After his departure we were destitute of a minister, and followed our usual method of reading and prayer at our meetings, till the Rev. Mr. Davies, our present pastor, was sent us by the Presbytery to supply a few Sabbaths in the Spring of 1747." (3)

(1) This is very likely the first Sacrament administered by Presbyterians in Hanover county or vicinity.

(2) Historical Collections, Gillies, 333-4; Life of Rodgers, Miller, 46-7.

(3) Ibid.--Gillies, Miller, 47; Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 51.

The labors of these men, Robinson, Roan, the Blairs, the Tennents, Finley, and Whitefield, laid the foundation on which Davies builded, and their influence over Virginia Presbyterians in creed and practice has been felt ever since. From deep conviction they, as well as other Presbyterians in Virginia, have been believers in the depraved nature of man and his need for a divine Saviour, the Sovereignty of God, and the influence of the Holy Spirit in Regeneration. Both ministers and people rejoiced in the unsearchable riches of Christ, and stood through trials and difficulties that would make ordinary spirits tremble and leave the field.(1)

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 146.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM
IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XVI
SAMUEL DAVIES

Comes Qualified..- After Mr. Whitefield's short visit the Presbyterians of Hanover county were not only destitute of a pastor, but were grievously harrassed by the pains and penalties of the law. "Upon a Lord's day," says Mr. Morris, "a proclamation was set up at our meeting-house, strictly requiring all magistrates to suppress and prohibit, as far as they lawfully could, all itinerant preachers, &c., which occasioned us to forbear reading that day till we had time to deliberate and consult what was expedient to do; but how joyfully were we surprised before the next Sabbath, when we unexpectedly heard that Mr. Davies was come to preach so long amongst us, and especially that he had qualified himself according to law, and obtained the licensing of four meeting-houses amongst us, which had never been done before."(1) Thus man's extremity is the Lord's opportunity.

With the coming of Davies a new day dawned for Presbyterianism in Virginia. He did more than any other single man for the toleration of dissenters. No man had equal influence with him in gathering the congregations and settling the ministers that

(1) Historical Collections, Gillies, 334.

composed the Presbytery of Hanover--the first Presbytery south of the Potomac. His spirit and habits and tastes gave complexion to this Presbytery, and to the Synod that grew out of it. Consequently the incidents of his life will always be interesting to Presbyterians in Virginia, where his influence is still felt today.

Childhood.— Samuel Davies was born in New Castle County, Delaware, Nov. 3, 1723, of pious Welsh ancestry. His father was a farmer of small property and died just after his son accepted the presidency of the College of New Jersey, Aug. 11, 1759, aged 79 years.(1) His mother, who had superior natural abilities and was ardently pious survived her son some years. When Davies' corpse was laid in the coffin, she stood over it, gazed at it intently for some minutes, and exclaimed, "There is the son of my prayers and my hopes; my only son, my only earthly supporter, but there is the will of God and I am satisfied."(2) Mr. Davies said in a letter to Dr. Gibbons of London, "I am a son of prayer, like my namesake, Samuel the Prophet, and my mother called me Samuel, because, she said, I have asked him of the Lord. This early dedication to God has always been a strong inducement to me to devote myself to him as a personal act, and the most important blessings of my life I have looked upon as immediate answers to the prayers of a pious mother."(3)

Preparation.— His first education was given him by his mother, as there was no school in the neighborhood. Between the years of about ten and twelved he attended an English school

(1) Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, Sprague, III, 140; Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 157-158.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 304. (3) Ibid. 158.

some distance from home, during which time he continued his habits of secret prayer. In his fifteenth year he made a public profession of religion and united with the Church. He began his classical course under the tuition of a Welsh minister by the name of Morgan, and when Rev. Samuel Blair opened his famous log-college at Fagg's Manor, Pennsylvania, he was put under his charge, and there completed his education. Having been aided by the means extended to him through Mr. Robinson by the people of Hanover, he felt strongly drawn towards them, and when licensed by New Castle Presbytery, July 30, 1746, his first thoughts were turned in that direction.(1)

Ordination and License in Virginia.— Davies was ordained an Evangelist Feb. 19, 1747 for the purpose of visiting the congregations in Virginia, especially those in Hanover county. On his way he came through Williamsburg and petitioned the General Court for "a license to officiate in and about Hanover, at four meeting-houses." And though a trial was in progress against some dissenters who had been indicted for worshipping contrary to law in Hanover county, "The tall, slim, well-formed youth, pale and wasted by disease, dignified and courteous in manner," won, first, the Governor's and then the Council's favor, and was granted a license to preach the gospel unmolested to the vexed and harassed people in Hanover, April 14, 1747.(2) The license reads thus:(3)

"On the petition of Samuel Davies, a Dissenting Minister, who, this day in Court, took the usual oaths to his Majesty's person and government, and subscribed the Test, and likewise

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 159; Hist. of Presby'sm in U.S.A., Gillett, I, 117; Annals Amer. Pulpit, Sprague, III, 140.

(2) Ibid.--Sprague. (3) Given in Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 160.

publicly declared his assent thereto, he is allowed to assemble and meet any congregation of Dissenters, at the several meeting-houses, on the lands of Samuel Morris, David Rice, and Stephen Leacy, in Hanover county, and on the lands of Thomas Watkins in Henrico county, without molestation, they behaving in a peaceable manner, and conforming themselves according to the directions of the acts of parliament in that behalf made."

Warm Reception in Hanover.— Davies proceeded on to Hanover, and was received with an outburst of joy. Coming with his license to them was "like a visit from the angel of mercy." For several months the congregations in Hanover and some adjacent counties were blessed with his ardent sermons, but his weak frame was prostrated under this burden of effort, and he was forced to return to Delaware at the close of the summer with strong indications of consumption.(1)

Courage in Difficulties.— Soon after his return his first wife was suddenly taken from him. The brief record in his Bible states, "Married to Sarah Kirkpatrick, October 23, 1746... September 15, 1747, separated by death, and bereaved of an abortive son.(2) This grief added to his ill health and oppressed his languishing frame almost to the limit. Yet, he would not give up. In spite of his weakness, he continued to supply vacancies all during the winter on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Thinking he did not have long to live, he determined to spend the little remains of an almost exhausted life in endeavoring to advance his Master's glory in the good of souls. He would preach during the day even when he was so delirious and ill at night as to need some one to sit up with him.(3)

Return to Hanover.— In the spring of 1748, his health was somewhat improved, and there were slight prospects of his

(1) Ibid. 162. (2) Ibid. 159, 162. (3) Ibid. 163.

recovery. His services were instantly in demand. But the application from Hanover, "signed by about one hundred and fifty heads of families," aided by the voice of the messenger, moved his heart. He says, "but upon the arrival of a messenger from Hanover, I put my life in my hand and determined to accept their call, hoping I might live to prepare the way for some more useful successor, and willing to expire under the fatigues of duty rather than in voluntary negligence." The work in Hanover would have been hard for any one, but Davies was the man for the situation. He preached as a dying man to dying men, and what were difficulties and opposition to such a man, expecting soon to be giving in to God the account of his stewardship.(1)

John Rodgers.— Mr. Davies succeeded in getting the Presbytery to appoint his intimate friend John Rodgers to accompany him, and engage, for a few months, in evangelistic work. However, he tried in vain to procure a license for Mr. Rodgers, who was compelled to return to Delaware, and the governor was scarcely able to prevent the recall of Mr. Davies' license, granted the previous year.(2)

Excitement ran high in Williamsburg. The suits against certain dissenters in Hanover, commenced years before, were in progress, and Samuel Morris and Isaac Winston were each fined twenty shillings with costs. One of the Established clergy followed Davies and Rodgers to Williamsburg, and complained that Mr. Rodgers had preached in the province without license, de-

(1) Ibid.; Historical Collections, Gillies, 334.

(2) Sks, of Va., Foote, I, 164-5; Life of Rodgers, Miller, 50-55.

manding the rigorous enforcement of the law. From the Council he met with encouragement, but from the Governor, who was always more tolerant towards dissenters than the Council, he met with a rebuke, "I am surprised at you! You profess to be a minister of Jesus Christ, and you come and complain of a man, and wish me to punish him for preaching the gospel! For shame, Sir! Go home, and mind your own duty. For such a piece of conduct you deserve to have your gown stripped over your shoulders!"⁽¹⁾

Works in Solitude.— Davies, back in Hanover, established himself about twelve miles from Richmond. His field here was a wide one, embracing a large portion of Virginia and part of North Carolina. He continued their pastor about eleven years, laying the foundation of the Presbytery of Hanover, and moulding the spirit of the future Synod of Virginia. In the "Ancient Dominion" he had no fellow laborer with whom his heart might rejoice. Miller and Craig were west of the Blue Ridge, and Black at Rockfish on its eastern base, but these were members of the Synod of Philadelphia, and during this schism had no communication with Mr. Davies. Like David Brainerd he labored in solitude and the church will forever love to dwell upon his self-denial and success.⁽²⁾

Second Marriage.— He was married the second time, to Miss Jane Holt of Hanover, Oct. 4, 1748. She bore him six children, and survived him many years.⁽³⁾

Growth of His Work.— The desire to hear the Gospel from the lips of the young dissenter spread in every direction. People

(1) Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, Sprague, III, 141; Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 164-6.

(2) Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 45; Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 166-7.

(3) Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, Sprague, III, 141.

rode great distances to attend on his ministry, and, desiring part of his time in their more immediate neighborhood, they petitioned the General Court for more authorized houses of worship. These petitions were granted Nov. 1, 1740, and three new places of preaching were added to the four already obtained by Davies. This license permitted "the several meeting-houses to be erected on the land of Jospeh Shelton, near Owen's Creek, in the county of Louisa,--on the land of Tucker Woodson, in the county of Goochland,--and on the land of John Sutton, at Needwood, in the County of Caroline." The nearest of these seven places were twelve or fifteen miles apart, and some of the people had to go thirty or forty miles to the nearest. The extreme points of Davies' parish were eighty or ninety miles apart.(1)

Writing to Mr. Bellamy in 1751, Davies states "There are about 300 communicants in my congregation, of whom the greatest number are, in the judgment of rational charity, real Christians. Besides some, who, through excessive scrupulousness, do not seek admission to the Lord's table. There is also a number of Negroes. Sometimes I see an hundred and more among my hearers.(Psalm 68: 31) I have baptized about forty of them within these three years."⁽²⁾

New Kent License Annulled.-- Some time later the county court of New New Kent gave license for his preaching in St. Peter's parish, but this was annulled by the General Court. The question now changed from mere toleration to the extent of toleration and the number of preaching places a Dissenting Minister should have. Some thought with the Bishop of London that one

(1) Historical Collections, Gillies, 334-5; Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 168-9.

(2) Historical Collections, Gillies, 335.

place of preaching was enough, and that the number of Mr. Davies places should be lessened rather than increased.(1)

Forced to Write in His Defense.- Appeals were made to England by the Established clergy and other Churchmen, including Commissary William Dawson, President of William and Mary, for information and instructions concerning Dissenters. These had only given one side of the case and that willfully misrepresented, and Davies was compelled to resort to his pen in self-defense. Mr. Davies had been branded as an Itinerant and Intruding Proselyter, whose motives were for the "building up of Presbyterianism," rather than "making converts to Christianity." (2) This he resented very much. In his letters to Dr. Doddridge, Dr. Avery, the Bishop of London, (3) and others, some of which have been preserved, he makes his position very plain. He defends himself very ably, stating that he has not more reason to be stigmatized as in Itinerant because he has several preaching places, than the Established clergy who frequently have three and sometimes many more places at which they preach because of the extent of their parishes and the sparseness of the population, and yet they are considered settled pastors. (4) Since for some years there was no other minister to assist him, Davies contended that the Toleration Act permitted Presbyterians to obtain as many licensed houses as would make worship accessible to all, and yet be regarded as one congregation. (5) As for

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I 169-171.

(2) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 78.

(3) This letter to the Bishop of London was first sent to Dr. Avery for his inspection, and because of the expressed attitude towards an American Bishop, and its tedious length of about 12,000 words, it was never presented to the Bishop.

(4) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 185-7. (5) Great Awakening, Gewehr, 79.

being called an Intruder, he says that the meeting-houses were all legally licensed before he ever preached in them, and further that he did not intrude into any place to gain proselytes, though he could not discourage any one from coming to hear him, and perhaps changing their opinions.(1) In his letter to the Bishop of London, Jan. 10, 1752, he states still further:(2)

"In all the sermons I have preached in Virginia, I have not wasted one minute in exclaiming or reasoning against the peculiarities of the established church; nor so much as assigned the reasons of ~~own~~ non-conformity. I have not exhausted my zeal in railing against the established clergy, in exposing their imperfections, some of which lie naked to my view, or in depreciating their characters. No, my lord, I have matters of infinitely greater importance to exert my zeal and spend my time and strength upon;--To preach repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ-- To alarm secure impenitents; to reform the profligate; to undeceive the hypocrite; to raise up the hands that hang down, and to strengthen the feeble knees;-- These are the doctrines I preach, these are the ends I pursue; and these my artifices to gain proselytes: and if I ever divert from these to ceremonial trifles, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

He then pleads for more toleration because of the extent of his field eighty or ninety miles in length and scattered over six or seven large counties. The greatest number of dissenters, he says, "I suppose about one hundred families, at least, are in Hanover, where there are three meeting-houses licensed: about twenty or thirty families in Henrico; about ten or twelve in Caroline; about fifteen or twenty in Goochland, and about the same number in Louisa; in each of which counties there is but one meeting-house licensed: about fifteen or twenty families in Cumberland, where there is no place licensed; and about the same number contiguous to New Kent, where a license was granted by the court of that county, but afterwards superseded by the General Court."

Because there were no licensed meeting-houses in two of these counties in particular, it was practically impossible for these dissenters to comply with the law requiring attendance at church once a month, without having to attend the parish church. "And," he says, "if our magistrates refuse to license a sufficient number, and yet execute the penal laws upon them for the profanation of the Sabbath, or the neglect of public worship, does it not seem as though they obliged them to offend that they may enjoy the malignant pleasure of punishing them?"

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 191-4.

(2) For entire Letter to the Bishop of London, see Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 180-206.

Davies Before the Council.-- On one occasion, at least, Davies spoke for himself before the General Council concerning the licensing of a particular house. The Attorney General, Peyton Randolph, who had always opposed the licensing of more meeting-houses, had just delivered a speech of great learning. And when Davies rose to reply there was a general titter through the court. His very first remark, however, showed such an intimate acquaintance with the law on the subject, that marks of surprise were manifest on every countenance. In a short time the lawyers began to whisper--"the Attorney General has met his match today."(1)

Opinion of Dissenters in England.-- The opinion of Dr. Doddridge and other leading dissenters in England was that the General Court in Virginia had no right to limit the number of licensed meeting houses for dissenters, neither had the Court a right to specify the persons to preach in particular houses. All licensed ministers had a right to preach in all licensed houses as far as the law was concerned, and any number of families could demand the registering of their house. They held that the people of New Kent were oppressed by the revoking of their license.(2)

The committee of the Deputation of Protestant Dissenters in England, February 1755, advised Davies thus:(3)

"When any house or place for religious worship is wanted, apply first to the County Court for a license thereof,--if refused there, then apply for license to the Governor and Council,--if refused there, the apply to the Governor alone for a license,--and if he refuses, then use such house or place for religious

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 293. (2) Ibid. 296.
(3) Ibid. 296-7.

worship, as if it had been licensed,--and if prosecuted for so doing acquaint the Committee therewith, and they will send you further notice how to act."

A secret instruction accompanying the above letter stated that "persons so prosecuted should appeal to the King in Council here, and the Committee will take care to prosecute such appeal."

Meets Other Opposition.-- Still another kind of opposition which Davies had to meet was the charge that the "New Lights" were not Presbyterians at all, but had been excluded from that body because of their erroneous doctrines and false teachings, and, therefore, did not belong to any group of Dissenters which came under the terms of the Toleration Act.

Possibly the most serious effort of this charge was made by Thornton (alias John Caldwell) in his "Trial of the Spirit," a Virginia edition of which was published by Rev. Patrick Henry in 1746.(1) Davies answered this sufficiently in 1748 by his "Impartial Trial, Impartially Tried, and convicted of Impartiality." In this he showed the real identity of Caldwell, whose real name was Thornton, and who had been compelled to leave Ireland to escape conviction for theft. He also showed how the preaching of the New Lights had produced good results, and that the objectionable features of the revival in New England, which Caldwell described, did not exist in other places. On the whole he viewed the publication as a monstrous and audacious misrepre-

(1) The full title is "An Impartial Trial of the Spirit operating in this part of the world; by comparing the nature, effects and evidences, of the present supposed conversion with the work of God." Though it contains a good deal of raillery, it does, nevertheless, bring out certain characteristics of the New Lights--their preaching of terror, their emphasis on "experiences" and the accompanying physical manifestation, their doctrine of definite witness of the Spirit to conversion, their seemingly boastful humility, their intolerance of non-evangelistic sects, their disregard for Presbyterian order in itinerating, their assertions against unconverted ministers and the like.

sentation both of the work of God, and its promoters.(1)

Voyage to Europe.- The Synod of New York meeting in Philadelphia Oct. 4, 1753,(2) appointed Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent to take a voyage to Europe in behalf of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University.(3)

Having obtained John Wright as a supply, Davies told his family good-bye September 3, 1753 and sailed November 18th, landing in London December 25th. All of the next year was spent touring in the interests of the College, and Davies did not forget to take every opportunity to advocate for the rights of the dissenters in Virginia. In fact the Synod had drawn up a certificate recommending Davies and Mr. Todd, his colleague who had recently settled in Virginia, "as regular and worthy members of their body."(4) When Davies was balancing considerations, pro and con, to accept the appointment, he says, "Then I consider that there is so much need to make some attempts for the security and enlargement of the privileges of dissenters in Virginia, and that if I were obliged to undertake a voyage for that end alone at the expense of the congregation, it would be very burdensome to them and to me; I cannot but conclude that it is with a view to this that Providence has directed the Trustees to make application to me."(5)

His work being finished Davies begins to think of home, and spends three months on his return voyage, leaving England about

(1) Impartial Trial, Davies, 34; Great Awakening, Gewehr, 81-3.

(2) This must have been 1752, for Davies began preparing in July for this journey, and departed Sept. 3, 1753.

(3) Records of the Presbyterian Church, 1706-1788, p.251.

(4) Ibid. 257; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 228-243.

(5) Journal of Samuel Davies kept from July 2, 1753 to Feb. 13, 1755--Given in Full in Sketches of Va., Foote, 228-281.

the middle of November, 1754, he took passage for York, Virginia, arriving Feb. 13, 1755. Mr. Tennent left about the same time and sailed directly for Philadelphia.(1)

Success of Mission.— The mission to Great Britain was a great success, surpassing all expectation. About 4,000 pounds was raised for the college,(2) and contributions were secured for the aid of pious young men at Nassau Hall. Public sympathy was excited for the suffering dissenters in Virginia. Also a greater interest was awakened for the welfare of the Indians. Foote says, "For immediate effect, or permanent usefulness, no delegation from the colonies to the mother country ever equalled that of Messrs. Tennent and Davies for Nassau Hall."(3)

French and Indian War.— During the absence of Davies from Virginia hostilities with the French and Indians had commenced on the frontier. England and France, both desiring control of North America, were entering the fierce contest that decided the fate of that great continent. Efforts were made on both sides to enlist the numerous warlike tribes of Indians in the contest, but the French were the more successful and without pity turned the fury of Indian warfare upon the English frontiers.(4)

Davies' War Sermons.— Mr. Davies, on his return to his family, partook of the alarm, and became the most valuable recruiting officer in the State. The influence of his war sermons appears to have been almost irresistible. March 5, 1755, a day appointed for fasting and prayer, he preached in Hanover from Daniel 4:25, "The Most High ruleth the kingdom of men and giveth

(1) Journal, Davies--Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 286.

(2) Amer. Presby'ism, Briggs, 309.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 228. (4) Ibid. 281.

it to whomsoever He will," a truly Christian patriotic sermon that excited his hearers to devotion and love of country. July 20, 1755, ten days after the defeat of Braddock, he preached on Isaiah 22:12-14.(1) Again on August 17th he delivered a thrilling sermon to the first volunteer company raised in Virginia after Braddock's defeat, commanded by Capt. Overton, on II Sam. 10:12. Connected with this sermon is this remarkable sentence, "I may point out to the public that heroic yout, Col. Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so single a manner, for some important service."(2) This spirit of Davies was, in general, the spirit of all the dissenters.

Dr. John H. Rice tells us of some friends who heard Davies preach these sermons, and who state that "They represent in lively terms the dejection and gloom depicted on every countenance, when every murmur of the western breeze seemed to be associated with the war-whoop of the savage, and the wail of the victims of French and Indian cruelty. As the preacher poured forth the strains of his eloquence, his own spirit was transfused into his hearers: the cheek that was blanched with fear reddened, andth drooping eye kindled with martial fire." On May 8, 1758, at a general muster in Hanover county for the purpose of raising a company for Captain Meredith, we are told by eye-witnesses that he preached a sermon with a most powerful effect. About the middle of the sermon he exclaimed:(3)

(1) Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, Sprague, III, 142; Also see Chapter on Indians in this Volume, p. 171.

(2) Ibid.-Sprague; Davies Sermons, V, 213-239; Sks., Foote, I, 282-4.

(3) Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 295-6.

"May I not reasonably insist upon it, that the company be made up this very day before we leave this place. Methinks your king, your country, nay your own interest command me: and therefore I insist upon it. Oh! for the all pervading force of Demosthenes' oratory--but I recall my wish that I may correct it--Oh! for the influence of the Lord of armies, the God of battles, the Author of true courage, and every heroic virtue, to fire you into patriots and true soldiers this moment! ye young and hardy men, whose very faces seem to speak that God and nature formed you for soldiers, who are free from the incumbrance of families depending upon you for subsistence, and who are perhaps but of little service to society while at home, may I not speak for you, and declare at your mouth,--here we are all ready to abandon our ease, and rush into the glorious dangers of the field, in defense of our country? ye that love your country, enlist; for honour will follow you in life or in death in such a cause. You that love your religion, enlist; for your religion is in danger. Can Protestant Christianity expect quarters from heathen savages and French Papists. Sure in such an alliance the powers of hell make a third party. Ye that love your friends and relations, enlist; lest ye see them enslaved and butchered before your eyes."

We are told that at the close of the address more offered their names than the Captain was authorized to command. As Davies started to the tavern to order his horse, the whole regiment followed him, endeavoring to catch every word that dropped from his lips. "On observing their desire, he stood in the tavern porch, and again addressed them until he was exhausted with speaking."(1)

More Freedom.-- It is not a matter of surprise that Mr. Davies found himself quite unmolested at this time in preaching wherever duty and convenience invited him. The Attorney General could scarcely venture to throw impediments in the path of the best recruiting officer in the State, neither could he have been anxious to again oppose such a man. Also about this time the established clergy became involved in contentions with the Legislature about the payment of their stipend of sixteen

(1) Ibid.

thousand pounds of tobacco, whether it should be paid in kind, or at an estimated value set by the Legislature, and less attention was paid to dissenters. Foote tells us that "While this contest waxed hotter and hotter, dissenters of different names multiplied, and the rigor of the courts relaxed. This unadvised proceeding of the clergy did more for the dissenters than all their appeals to natural or constitutional law had been able to accomplish.(1)

Missionary Excursions.— Amid all his labors, in seven preaching places, besides his journeys to attend upon the courts of the church,(2) Mr. Davies found time and strength and disposition to make frequent missionary excursions to the sections of country now in the counties of Cumberland, Powhatan, Prince Edward, Charlotte, Campbell, Nottaway, and Amelia. He once wrote to a friend, "This has been a busy summer with me. In about two months I rode about 500 miles and preached about forty sermons.(3)

When going through strange country he was generally accompanied by a pious young man who would ride on before and find places of lodging, for many people were unwilling to receive a "New Light" preacher into their homes in those days. By this means he was lodged in the home of Little Joe Morton. It was the habit of Mr. Davies to Preach at the places where he lodged, or give a lecture to the family and servants, and here at these services both Mr. and Mrs. Morton were converted. This was the

(1) Ibid.296-7. (2) We know that Davies was a regular attendant at Synod, and was most likely also regular at Presbytery. These were long journeys.

(3) Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 53-54.

foundation of the Briery congregation, of which Little Joe Morton was the first Elder, and before they had a minister, was more like a pastor than a ruling elder. Every Sabbath he would convene the people and read to them an evangelical sermon, and catechise the children out of the Shorter Catechism.(1)

Obtains Additional Supplies.— Meanwhile Davies was alert to obtain additional supplies for a short time or for settlement, and frequently appealed to the Synod and most likely also to the Presbytery. In 1752, he succeeded in getting John Todd, "a young man of good learning and of a pious disposition," to settle in Virginia, and relieve him of a part of his large circuit. He was licensed "to officiate as an Assistant to Samuel Davies, a Dissenting Minister in such places as are already licensed by this court for the meeting of Dissenters." (2) He was installed as pastor of Providence Church in Louisa County, where he had a rich ministry of over forty years.(3)

Two other ministers, Robert Henry and Mr. Greenman, were sent by the Synod of New York to preach to the people in the back country Sept. 29, 1752.(4) Three years later, 1755, Mr. Henry settled in Virginia, becoming pastor of two churches-- Cub Creek and Briery.(5)

A third minister, John Wright, settled in Cumberland county also in 1755 (He supplied for Mr. Davies while abroad 1753-1755), making four ministers laboring in the territory formerly all embraced in Davies' circuit, when Hanover Presbytery was formed

(1) Sks. Of Va., Foote, I, 214-5; See Sketch of Briery Church.
(2) Todd's MS. License, Apr. 22, 1752, in Va. Rel. Papers (Libr. Congr.)
(3) Hist. Presbyn. Ch., Webster, 608-9. (4) Rec. Synod New York.
(5) See Sketches of Cub Creek, and Briery in this Volume.

in December 1755.(1) These three then, Todd, Henry, and Wright, introduced by Davies, with two other ministers who had come to Virginia under the auspices of the New York Synod, John Brown, and Alexander Craighead, and settled in the western counties, and Davies himself, who was elected the first moderator, were the first ministers of Hanover Presbytery.

Work Among the Negroes.- In addition to all this Mr. Davies found time to give to "the poor neglected negroes." In a letter written March 1755 to the Society in London for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, he requests that they send him some books for distribution among the negroes, principally Watts Psalms and Hymns, and Bibles. He speaks of them thus:(2)

"The poor neglected negroes, who are so far from having money to purchase books, that they themselves are the property of others; who were African savages, and never heard of Jesus or His Gospel, till they arrived at the land of their slavery in America, whom their masters generally neglect, and whose souls none care for, as though immortality were not a privilege common to them with their masters,--these poor unhappy Africans are the objects of my compassion, and I think the most proper objects of the Society's charity. The inhabitants of Virginia are computed to be about 300,000 men, the one-half of which are supposed to be negroes. The number of those who attend my ministry is uncertain, but generally about three hundred, who give stated attendance!"

In answer to this request the Society sent him about five hundred books, which were very few among so many thousand negroes. They were all distributed in a few days after their arrival. He says, "The poor slaves, whenever they could get an hour's leisure from their masters, would hurry away to my house, and receive the charity with all the genuine indication of passionate gratitude which unpolished nature could give." He tells us

(1) History Presbyn. Church, Webster, 624ff.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 285-6.

again, "One of the catechumens...addressed me to this purpose, in broken English, 'I am a poor slave, brought into a strange country, where I never expect to enjoy my liberty. While I lived in my own country I knew nothing of that Jesus, which I have heard you speak so much about. I lived quite careless what will become of me when I die, but now I see that such a life will never do; and I come to you sir, that you may tell me some good things concerning Jesus Christ and my duty to God; for I am resolved not to live any more as I have done.'"(1)

Writing in March, 1756, he says, "two Sundays ago I had the pleasure of seeing forty of their black faces around the table of the Lord, who all made credible profession of Christianity, and sundry of them with unusual evidence of sincerity."(2)

Helps Candidates for the Ministry.— Besides all these things Davies still found time to rear up preachers of the Gospel in Virginia. These he encouraged to attend the New Jersey College. He was instrumental in bringing forward and aiding in their education, John Wright, Mr. Patillo, John Martin, the first licentiate of Hanover Presbytery, Wm. Richardson, James Waddell, and James Hunt, a son of one of his Elders.(3)

Encourages Schools and Study.— Davies also helped to build up Church Schools in his congregation, and elsewhere. John Todd, his assistant, was for many years the head of a classical school in Louisa County. We must not forget, either, that the churches of Davies were themselves great schools. Dr. John H. Rice tells

(1) Ibid., 291-2. (2) Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 54-5.
 (3) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 220-221.

us that during the week the people of Samuel Davies gave much time to study in preparation for the following Sunday. "A mother might often be seen rocking her infant in a cradle, sewing some garment for her husband, and learning her catechism at the same time. A girl employed in spinning would place her book of questions at the head of the wheel, and catching a glance at it as she ran up her yarn on the spindle, would thus prepare for public catechising; and boys who were accustomed to follow the plow, were often to be seen, while their horses were feeding at midday, reclining under an old oak in the yard, learning the weekly task." Then on the Lord's day in the church as a part of the public religious services, the minister asked questions from the Catechism. The Elders of the church and heads of families were always asked first; then the younger members and the servants. This exercise was never brief but always thorough.(1)

Writes Hymns.— Davies, busy man as he was, also found time to write hymns. In fact he was the "earliest hymn writer of Colonial Presbyterianism," and some of his hymns are still in common use. One has been found in more than one hundred hymnals in England alone.(2)

Removes to Princeton.— The great and successful labors of Davies in Hanover for about eleven years came to a rather abrupt end. After a third very importunate application from the Trustees of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) for him to become their President,(3) he was almost ready to accept when

(1) Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 55-6.

(2) Pres. Davies as a Hymn Writer, Benson--In Great Awakening, Gewehr, 87. (3) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 300.

the Trustees elected him a fourth time, and ^{the} United Synod of New York and Philadelphia meeting in Philadelphia, May 16, 1759, "having seriously considered the congregation's supplication, and fully heard all the reasonings for and against Mr. Davies's liberation, after solemn prayer to God for direction, do upon the whole, judge that the arguments in favor of said liberation do preponderate, and agree that Mr. Davies's Pastoral relation to his congregation be dissolved in order to his removal to the college, and accordingly hereby dissolve it." (1)

Hanover Feels Loss.— His course having been determined for him, Mr. Davies immediately removed to Princeton, and entered upon his duties, July 26, 1759. Virginia mourned his departure and Hanover County rapidly lost prestige as the center of Virginia Presbyterianism. The congregations met with discouragements in their attempts to obtain a successor to Davies, and became enfeebled by the emigration of many of the leading members to the western counties. ~~They were~~ served by supplies until 1763, when the young David Rice accepted a call ~~as their~~ pastor. His relations with ~~this~~ congregation do not seem to have been happy and the remuneration insufficient, so that in a few years he removed to Bedford County, and later to Kentucky. (2)

His Death.— However, Princeton rejoiced in Davies accession. He put his whole heart and soul into his new work, rose early and studied late. Perhaps he worked too hard, or the change was too complete and too sudden for his physical strength, for

(1) Records Presbyterian Church, 1706-1788, p. 292; MS. Rec. of Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, II, 79; The great Awakening, Gewehr, 101.

after about eighteen months of service there, he was called to his reward Feb. 4, 1761 after a brief illness. It is interesting to note that his New Year Sermon about a month before, on January 1st, was from Jer. 28:16, "This year thou shalt die." (1)

His Great Success.— Davies was still a comparatively young man at his death--being but thirty-seven years and three months old. His life is a wonderful illustration of how much can be accomplished in a short time. As Makemie is the father of the Presbyterian Church in America, so Davies is the father of the Synod of Virginia. "He seems," was once said of him as he passed through a courtyard, "as an ambassador of some mighty king;" and as such sustained his Master's cause with dignity and success. (2) Yet, Foote tells us, "He makes no parade of learning, but everywhere in his sermons it is evident that large stores were at his command; that he felt strongly, and thought clearly, and reasoned forcibly from great principles and important facts. At the twang of his silver bow the heart was pierced through and through; and with an angel's tenderness he was pouring in the balm of Gilead to the wounded spirit." (3)

His Sermons.— Such great gifts as Davies possessed came not only by inspiration but by perspiration. He was a hard worker. His care in preparing his sermons may be known by the declaration, "every sermon, I think worthy of the name, cost me four days hard study in the preparation." (4) The chief aim of his sermons and his preaching was to promote genuine Christianity by changing the hearts and lives of men. He endeavored, he says,

(1) Davies Sermons, III, 209-227 (1818); Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 303.
(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 221. (3) Ibid. 302.
(4) Ibid. 303.

"to alarm secure impenitents; to reform the profligate; to undeceive the hypocrite; to raise the hands that hang down, and to strengthen the feeble knees."(1) His sermons were "plain and pungent, peculiarly adapted to pierce the conscience and affect the heart." Their popularity is shown by the fact that nine English editions of his Sermons appeared between 1761 and 1800, while Barnes' Fourth American edition appeared in 1845.(2)

Widespread Fame.— Dr. T.C.Johnson tells us that "His fame as a preacher had filled London and all England and Scotland. Pulpits were open to him everywhere. Immense audiences hung upon his word. It is said that King George II, when once in his audience, was so enraptured with his eloquence and his solemn and impressive manner that he repeatedly gave vent in speech, to those about him, of his feelings, that Mr. Davies was shocked at what he mistook for the king's irreverence; and that, after pausing and looking sternly in royalty's direction several times, he exclaimed: 'When the Lion roars, the beasts of the forest all tremble; and when King Jesus speaks, the princes of the earth should keep silence,' and that thus he increased the king's admiration for himself."(3)

Triumph of Presbyterianism.— "Davies demonstrated the capability of the Church to sustain itself, not only without the fostering aid of the State, but under its oppressive laws. He showed the patriotism of true religion, and in defending the principles of Presbyterianism, he maintained what Virginia

(1) See page, 351 this volume.

(2) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 87.

(3) Va. Presby'sm and Rel. Liberty, Johnson, 39.

now believes to be the inalienable rights of man."(1)

Opposed sharply at first as fanatics and schismatics, they gradually lost this stigma attached to the name of "New Lights," made deep inroads upon the solidarity of the Anglicans, without an effort to proselyte and gained numerous accessions from the upper class. It is a fact of no little significance that Presbyterianism won both Gentlemen and Slave. A Richmond correspondent wrote, "When I go among Mr. Davies' people religion seems to flourish...It is very agreeable to see the gentlemen at their morning and evening prayers with their slaves devoutly joining with them."(2) Also the fact that Davies single-handed, had won the battle for complete Toleration of non-conformists, was in itself an achievement sufficient to gain respect for the denomination he represented. The rich and great began to realize that the political influence of the Dissenters was not to be ignored. Under the leadership of Patrick Henry and Thos. Jefferson they were to actually wrest the leadership in the Assembly from the planter régime.(3)

Widespread Influence.— One of those to come under the influence of Davies who later made his mark in Virginia politics was Patrick Henry. During Davies ministry he grew from eleven to twenty-two. "One of the places at which Mr. Davies preached was known as 'The Fork Church,' and here Mrs. John Henry, who became a member of his church, attended regularly. She was in the habit of riding in a double gig, taking with her young Patrick, who, from the first, showed a high appreciation of the preacher..."

(1) Sks, of Va., Foote, I, 305. (2) Given in Hist. Presbm, Webster, 557.
(3) The great Awakening, Gewehr, 104.

His sympathetic genius was not only aroused by the eloquence of the preacher, who, he ever declared, was 'the greatest orator he ever heard,' but he learned from him that robust system of theology which is known as Calvinism, and which has furnished to the world so many of her greatest characters--a system of which Froude writes: 'It has been able to inspire and sustain the bravest efforts ever made by man to break the yoke of unjust authority...has borne ever an inflexible front to illusion and mendacity, and has preferred rather to be ground to powder, than to bend before violence, or melt under enervating temptations!'⁽¹⁾

It is probable that Patrick Henry was too young to appreciate Whitefield on his first visit to America, and as he had entered manhood before Waddell entered the ministry, his early example of eloquence was Davies, some of whose traits he seems to have unconsciously imitated. Although he never withdrew from the Episcopal church, of which his father was a member, he became a persistent advocate of religious liberty, and was always particularly friendly to Presbyterians, the church of his mother and sisters.⁽²⁾ The same bold eloquence that aroused the militia of Hanover in Braddock's War, was heard again in Hanover and Williamsburg calling to arms in the Revolution.⁽³⁾ Who would dare to say just what influence the ministry of Samuel Davies had, not only on Presbyterianism in Virginia and America, but on the civil and religious liberty which we so much enjoy today.

(1) Life Correspondence and Speeches of P. Henry, W.W. Henry, I, 15-16. (2) Ibid.
(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 305.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XVII

OLD CHURCHES IN EAST HANOVER PRESBYTERY

Having seen something of the miraculous rise of Presbyterianism in Hanover, and having taken a glimpse at that noble Christian servant--Rev. Samuel Davies, let us now look briefly at the old eighteenth century churches in the present bounds of East Hanover Presbytery, which, as we have seen was formed in the division of Hanover Presbytery in 1829.(1)

After Davies' departure the churches in Hanover made practically no progress for some years, but rather declined. It was not until towards the close of the century that they began to show much life.

With several exceptions the writer has been compelled to depend entirely upon Presbyterial, Synodical, and Assembly's records, and these, as has been said before, are very incomplete concerning the individual churches.

1. Hanover.

April 14, 1747, Samuel Davies was given license to preach at three different places in Hanover County--on the lands of Samuel Morris, David Rice, and Stephen Leacy.(2) However, this church really had its beginning in "Morris's Reading Houses."(3) Davies

(1) See p. 317. (2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 160.

(3) See p. 330.

continued to preach here until July 26, 1759, when he removed to Princeton to become President of the College.(1)

After Mr. Davies left, the church declined for some years. They are found asking and receiving supplies at almost every meeting of Presbytery until Oct. 7, 1763, when David Rice accepted "a call from Mr. Davies former Congregation," where he was ordained Dec. 29, 1763, and remained until April 18, 1766. Then they again depend upon Presbytery for supplies. Rev. John D. Blair was pastor of Hanover from about 1785 on through the end of the century.(2)

The first meeting of Hanover Presbytery was held here, and Samuel Morris, one of the first Elders attended.(3)

The church now called "Samuel Davies" is located in Hanover and has 206 members.(4)

2. Henrico.

One of the first four meeting houses licensed for Samuel Davies April 14, 1747 was on the lands of Thomas Watkins in Henrico county.(5) The work there must have become rather weak after Davies left in 1759, for it does not occur on the records again until Sept. 18, 1786, when Hanover and Henrico are reported under the care of John D. Blair. It is reported under his care again Oct. 5, 1792, but in the next report of churches, April 15, 1797 it does not even occur.(6) The present churches in Richmond in a way are successors of this old church.

(1) MS.Rec. Hanover Presby. Minutes General Assembly, 1803. (2) Ibid.,Also see Sept.18,1786;
(3) MS.Records Hanover Presby.
(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 271.
(5) Sks.of Va.,Foote,I,160. (6) MS. Records Hanover Presby.

3. Amelia

Samuel Davies tells us that Mr. Robinson was the means of awakening several in Amelia and Lunenburg, and that June 28, 1751 these two together would be large enough to form a distinct congregation.(1)

Amelia first occurs on the Hanover records for Nov. 17, 1756 petitioning for supplies. April 27, 1757 they ask for more of Mr. Martin's labors, and he was appointed to preach at his discretion at Petersburg and Amelia until June. June 8, 1757 they united with Lunenburg and Prince Edward in calling John Martin, which he kept under consideration for sometime, but finally declined it, and Jan. 25, 1758 was sent as a missionary among the Indians. Henry Patillo preached for Amelia about two years beginning May 5, 1763. Besides this they depend upon Presbytery through Oct. 5, 1768. It occurs once afterward, Nov. 9, 1793, when Wm. Calhoun was ordered to supply them.(2) There is a church at Amelia today with a membership of 353, of which Rev. D.P. Rogers is pastor.(3)

4. Lunenburg.

Besides what we have noted above, Lunenburg occurs only one other time on the early records, and that April 28, 1757 when Presbytery was appointed to meet there the following September. Later, between Sept. 22, 1787 and April 9, 1795 we find them again receiving supplies.(4)

(1) Historical Collections, Gillies, 336-337. However, he may have been speaking of the germs of Cumberland and Briery churches when he spoke of Amelia for until 1749 Cumberland, and until 1754 Prince Edward counties were a part of Amelia; and he may have been speaking Cub Creek Church when he spoke of Lunenburg for until 1765 Charlotte Co. was a part of Lunenburg.

(2) MS. Rec. Hanover Pr. (3) Min. Gen. As. 1931, 271. (4) MS. Rec. Han. Pr.

5. Byrd.

Byrd(1) Church is located at Irwin, near Goochland. "Goochland Court House" occurs first on the records March 18, 1756 when Presbytery meets there. "The Bird" is found first April 27, 1757 asking for supplies, and several times afterward until Sept. 27, 1758 when Henry Patillo "accepts of the call from the United Congregation of Willis's, the Bird, and Buck Island." He remained about four years until Oct. 7, 1762 when he was released from his charge on account of inadequate support. They again occur frequently asking and receiving supplies until John Todd is appointed to preach for them Oct. 14, 1772. It is likely that he took them under his charge shortly afterwards, as they cease to ask for supplies, and Sept. 18, 1786 they are reported under Mr. Todd's charge. Mr. Todd continues their pastor until his death July 27, 1793, after which time they are forced to depend upon Presbytery again for supplies throughout the end of the century.(2) The present church at the Byrd has fifty-six members.(3)

6. Buck-Island.(4)

Buck-Island church, located at Monteagle, occurs first on the records for March 18, 1756 when Mr. Todd was appointed to supply between Buck-Island in Albemarle and the mountains. At the same meeting Mr. Brown is appointed "to preach at Mr. Charles Lewis's at Buck-Island the Sabbath preceding our next Presbytery." They receive several other appointments until Sept. 27,

(1) The change in spelling occurs about 1820.

(2) MS. Records Hanover Presby.

(3) Min. Gen. As., 1931, p.271.

(4) Buck-Island possibly belongs in West Hanover Presby.

1758 when "Mr. Patillo accepts of a Call from the united congregations of Willis's, the Bird and Buck-Island." He was dismissed from these churches Oct. 7, 1762 because the people were "unable to give him sufficient support." (1) This is the last time we find the name on the records.

7. Petersburg.

Petersburg occurs for the first time on the records April 27, 1757, asking for some of John Martin's labors, and he was appointed to preach at his discretion at Petersburg and Amelia until June. Mr. Davies was also appointed to preach there the third Sabbath in May. Afterwards we find them asking and receiving supplies through Sept. 28, 1758. (2) It is not known what connection this has with the present large and flourishing churches in that city.

8. Caroline.

Samuel Davies obtained license to preach at a meeting house to be erected "on the land of John Sutton at Needwood in the county of Caroline." (3) The name occurs twice only on the minutes--Oct. 27, 1775, and May 1, 1776, and both times Mr. Smith was appointed to preach for them one Sabbath. (4)

9. Spottsylvania.

Spottsylvania is first found petitioning for supplies Oct. 5, 1768, and John Todd and John Brown are appointed to administer the Sacrament to them. Oct. 6, 1768, Thomas Jackson was

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (2) Ibid.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 168. (4) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby.

appointed two Sabbaths, and the last mention is for Oct. 17, 1770 when Mr. Waddell requests that Brown and Cummings be appointed to administer the Sacrament there.(1)

Other Churches

There are a number of meeting places that occur only once or several times asking or receiving supplies, which apparently were not organized at the time. Some of these were difficult to locate, and possibly may not be in East Hanover Presbytery. They will be given in the order of their appearance.

Slate River.-- Twice, March 18, 1756 and Aug. 26, 1756 receiving supplies.(1)

Chesterfield.-- Twice, Sept. 28, 1757 and April 26, 1758 receiving supplies.(1)

Port-Royal.-- Once, April 26, 1759, asking for preaching.(1)

Essex.-- Six times, Sept. 28, 1757-May 5, 1763, asking and receiving supplies.(1)

Colo. Shools.-- Twice, Oct. 3, 1759 and July 19, 1759, receiving supplies.(1)

Neus River.-- Three times, Sept. 25, 1760--Oct. 27, 1775, asking and receiving supplies.(1)

Otto River.-- Once, Sept. 25, 1760, petition, and Brown appointed.⁽¹⁾

Clarks.-- April 3, 1761, Wright appointed one Sabbath.(1)

Tobacco Row Mountain.-- Twice, April 7-8, 1762 and April 1, 1767 asking and receiving supplies. (1)

Upper and Lower Sarau Towns.-- Twice, Oct. 15-16, 1766 and Oct. 5-6, 1768, asking and receiving supplies.(1)

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

Hogan's Creek.-- Oct. 16, 1766, Leak appointed one Sabbath.(1)

Williamsburg.-- Apr. 1, 1767, Waddell appointed two Sabbaths.(1)

Allen's Creek.-- Apr. 14, 1767, Creswell appointed one Sabbath.(1)

New Derry.-- April 13, 1769, Included in John Craig's report, as having 36 families and nine representatives are named.(1)

Cartmell's Meeting House.-- Twice, Oct. 18, 1770 and April 10-12, 1771, receiving supplies.(1)

McReary's Meeting House.-- Twice, Oct. 19, 1770 and April 12, 1771, receiving appointments. At the latter Jackson is appointed to ordain Capt. Wm. Lewis and John Kincaide as Elders there.(1)

Bowyers.-- April 10, 1771, requesting supplies.(1)

Derry.-- April 10, 1771, requesting supplies.(1)

Elk Creek.-- Oct. 14, 1772, Todd appointed one Sabbath.(1)

Patt's Creek.-- Oct. 14, 1773, Brown appointed one Sabbath.(1)

Dr. McKinley's.-- May 1, 1776, McCorkle one Sabbath.(1)

John's Creek.-- May 1, 1776, ask and receive Templeton to supply.⁽¹⁾

Peter's Creek.-- Twice, May 1, 1776 and April 29, 1778 receiving supplies.(1)

Gillespie's M.H..-- Apr. 29, 1778, McConnel one Sabbath.(1)

Barnett's.-- Oct. 25, 1782, Rankin appointed to supply.(1)

Ratliff's Marsh.-- Oct. 25, 1782. Rankin and Houston appointed.⁽¹⁾

Good's Meeting House.-- May 6, 1790, Philip Poindexter appointed to get subscriptions for the family Bible.(1)

Head of Banister.-- April 5, 1793, Mitchel and Turner appointed to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the New Meeting House on the Head of Banister.(1)

Nottoway.-- Nov. 9, 1793, Wm. Calhoon appointed to supply.(1)

New Erection.-- Eight times, May 1, 1794, when Mitchel and Turner are appointed to administer the Sacrament-- April 19, 1798, asking and receiving supplies.(1)

King and Queen.-- April 21, 1796 and Oct. 14, 1796, Blair appointed to supply.(1)

Logan's Meeting House.-- Oct. 19, 1797 and April 19, 1798, McRobert appointed to supply.(1)

Capt. Charles Christian's.-- Oct. 19, 1797, Baxter appointed.

Ground Squirrel.-- April 19, 1798 and Sept. 12, 1800, Lacy and Todd appointed to supply.(1)

(1) Ibid.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XVIII THE NORTHERN NECK

Presbyterian Settlements were also made at an early date in that portion of Virginia between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, known as the Northern Neck,(1) and now embraced in Potomac Presbytery. This section had previously been settled by Episcopalians, and the Established church set up in its vigor with wonderful prospects, and with a succession of worthy ministers it must have flourished. But in no part of the State was the faultiness of the clergy more lamentable or more visible.(2)

John Organ.-- In this state of things God sent a layman who assembled the people for religious instruction, and was the means of converting many. Dr. Miller tells us that "About the year 1730 there resided in the great Northern Neck, between the Rappahannoc and Potomac rivers, a certain John Organ, a pious schoolmaster from Scotland. Soon after his establishment in that country, finding that there was no place of religious worship in his immediate neighborhood, and that a large portion of the people wholly disregarded the ordinances of religion, and were sunk in carelessness and profligacy, his spirit was

(1) Sectionalism in Virginia, Ambler, 19.

(2) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 354.

stirred within him to attempt something for the spiritual advantage of his neighbors. Accordingly, he collected in private houses such of them as were tolerably decent and sober, and had any sense of religion, and read to them the Scriptures and other pious writings, accompanied with prayer and singing. For several years nothing more was attempted; especially as the frowns of the government were soon directed towards this little flock, and the laws against dissenters rigorously enforced against them. In a short time, however, after the formation of the Synod of Philadelphia, the people of Organ's neighborhood made an application to that body for supplies. This request was granted; and the Rev. Mr. Anderson, who had before resided in New York, but was then settled in Pennsylvania, was sent by the Synod to preach among them, to organize a church, and to intercede with the government on their behalf. Mr. Anderson succeeded in attaining all these objects. He preached to great acceptance, and with much impression; and formed a church which has continued to the present day. (1)

This could not have been the Potomac Church, as Dr. Foote thinks, for that church had been put in church order in 1719-20. (2) The location of Mr. Organ's neighborhood cannot be fully ascertained further than we know it was between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, and east of the mountains. The latter is rather certain for had it been on the west side there would have

(1) Life of Rodgers, Miller, 29-30; Also given in Sketches of Va., Foote, 354-5; and Memoirs of Rice, Bishop, 39-40. This is the same Mr. Anderson who carried the message of Synod to the Governor in 1738.

(2) Dr. Foote's failure to locate the Potomac church in the Valley, was mainly because he did not know there were white inhabitants there at that time.

been no opposition at this time from the Established church.

Rev. Hugh Stevenson.-- What favor the dissenters met with from the civil authorities in Virginia, is evident from the following record of the Synod, the only record referring to Virginia between 1724 and 1738, and it is likely that this incident occurred in Mr. Organ's neighborhood:(1)

Sept. 22, 1733, "Upon an overture of the committee to the Synod, concerning a representation of Mr. Hugh Stevenson, respecting harsh and injurious usage which he met with from some gentlemen in Virginia, the Synod ordered Mr. Stevenson to lay a representation thereof before them, which he accordingly did in writing. And after hearing the same, and reasoning upon it, it was agreed that a letter be writ by the Synod, and sent to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, together with a copy of Mr. Stevenson's representation, in order to use our interest with that venerable Assembly for our being assisted with money from the societies for the propagation of religion, or elsewhere to enable us to maintain some itinerant ministers in Virginia or elsewhere; as also to procure their assistance to obtain the favorable notice of the government in England, so as to lay a restraint upon some gentlemen in said neighboring province, as may discourage them from hampering such itinerant ministers by illegal prosecutions; and if it may be, to procure some assistance from his majesty for our encouragement by way of regium donum."

Mr. Stevenson was a minister in good standing in New Castle Presbytery, and this shows that the spirit of the province had not changed since the time of Makemie.

Opposition to Dissenters.-- Gov. Gooch seems to have been generally fair and tolerant towards Presbyterian settlers on the frontier, but in the older settled sections where the English church was established by law, the case was altogether different. "Dissent" in whatever form was frowned upon and opposed. In some places it was interdicted altogether. The restrictions under which at last it was allowed to have an existence were severe and humiliating, and it required strong

(1) Records of the Synod of Philadelphia.

convictions and no little courage, to endure the persecution and ridicule, the violence and hatred to which all dissenters were subjected. Col. Gorden made this entry in his Journal for Aug. 25, 1759,(1) "Sunday. At home with my wife and family where I have much more comfort than going to church, hearing the ministers ridicule the dissenters." And again he makes this entry for May 26, 1760, "Went to meeting today, a pretty large company of common people and negroes, but very few gentlemen. The gentlemen who were inclined to come are afraid of being laughed at. Mr. Minzie (the rector) endeavors to make it such a scandalous thing." Everything possible was done to prevent the success of the Presbyterian church. The business interests of its members were interfered with. Threatening and scurrilous letters were written by the clergy to the preachers who ventured within their parishes. Sermons were largely taken up with the abuse of those dissenting from the Established Church. Evangelical religion was ridiculed as bigotry and fanaticism. Farces were played in caricature of Presbyterians. Under such difficulties and discouragements it is a wonder that our church survived, yet its growth was steady and even rapid.(2)

Famous Men.— It will be of interest to note that the Northern Neck was the birth place of some of the worthies of the Revolution; and will rejoice in the names of Washington, Monroe, Lee, Fitzhugh, Ball, and Carter.(3)

(1) This journal which is of great interest, begins, Dec. 22, 1758 and ends Dec. 31, 1763. The most interesting parts of it are given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 361-370.

(2) Presbyterianism in Northern Virginia, Graham, 120-121.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, 354.

An Old Letter.— Owing to the loss of the records of New Castle Presbytery, we can find no certain dates of the actings and doings of the dissenters in the Northern Neck before 1755. The following letter from the Appendix to Gillies' Collections, shows there were Presbyterians of active piety maintaining the cause of spiritual religion and carrying the Gospel to the cabins of the slaves. The letter dated Sept. 5, 1755 follows: (1)

"Dear Sir: You take notice in your letter of my poor and weak endeavors for the instruction of the negroes; I did, indeed, (as far as I could) lay open their condition to some acquaintances; and from a very good friend in Glasgow, have received books which enable me to do them more service. The condition of this part of the country is very melancholy. There is little inquiry made after good books among our great folks; plays, races, cock-fighting &c., are more acceptable. No wonder that their slaves are neglected. But when I saw them working on the Sabbath, or fishing, or heard they were doing so; or that they could not speak a word without swearing, and were ignorant almost as brutes of the evil consequences of such things, these considerations and the advice of a Christian friend, induced me to do something; but they are very thoughtless, and some whom I have earnestly dealt with seem still unconcerned; yet there are two or three, or more, that seem to break off their wickedness, and serve God. In my advices to them, I do not go out of the sphere of a private Christian. I hear them repeat the Mother's Catechism and read in the New Testament. There are some who come to me at present on the Sabbath once in a fortnight, when we have no sermon. Some persons have objected against their learning, as if it made them worse, but that effect has not followed on any that have been with me, so far as I know; on the contrary, they come to serve from conscience, whereas it was before from dread. I was speaking to them, not to learn when they should be working. No,--they said, for that would be theft, to steal from our masters. Some make very good progress. Some can read in the New Testament. Several, before I came, could read, but had no books, which I have helped them to, from those I got from Glasgow. And they read to the rest. But alas! there is little seriousness amongst us here in this country. When I go amongst Mr. Davies' people, religion seems to flourish; it is like the suburbs of heaven. The poor negroes seem very thankful to any that instruct them. Mr. Todd informed me he preached a sermon to them, and they thanked him, and seem desirous of further knowledge. It is very agreeable to see the gentlemen in those parts at their morning and evening prayers, with their slaves devoutly joining with them."

(1) Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, 358-9.

The Gordons.-- From the date of the above letter for a number of years we are indebted practically entirely to the records of Hanover Presbytery, and the fragment of a journal kept by Col James Gordon, of Lancaster county. A Scotch-Irishman, Col. Gordon emigrated with his brother John, from Newry Ireland, sometime previous to 1740. John settled on the opposite side of the Rappahannock river at Urbanna in Middlesex county. Both were very enterprising and successful merchants, and became wealthy and influential. The Gordons of Albemarle are descendants of John. These men were devoted Presbyterians, and the character and lives of the established clergy in the region where they settled, constrained them, in the interest of vital religion, to secure for their families and others the form of worship in which they had been reared. Presbyterian ministers were finally obtained, and in spite of many difficulties, and in the face of abuse and persecution, the Presbyterian Church was revived and the cause of religion flourished.(1)

Lancaster Church.-- It is very certain that churches were organized in Northumberland and Lancaster counties, and probably also in Richmond and Westmoreland. The church at Lancaster Court House, seems to have been the largest in the group and the first established. At Court held for Lancaster County, May 20, 1757, a petition for a meeting house was presented and ordered to be recorded as follows:(2)

"We the Subscribers Inhabitants of Lancaster County do certify the Worshipful Court of the said County, that we intend to make use of a place on the land of John Mitchell in this

(1) Ibid. 359; Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 118.

(2) From Dawson Manuscripts, given in The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 94.

county, as a place of public worship of God, according to the practice of Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian Denomination. And we desire that this certificate be registered in the records of the Court according to the direction of an (Act of) Parliament commonly called the Act of Toleration.

John Mitchell,
Thomas Carter."

This action was rescinded the next year by the Court on the grounds that it was taken "unadvisedly and by surprise," and that the Court "is now informed that no Act of Parliament relating thereto is binding in this Colony, and that there is an Act of Assembly now in force here w'ch forbids any person to preach who has not rec'd an ordination from some Bishop in England, and subscribed to be conformable to the church of England..." However, we know that a meeting house was built in Lancaster on or before 1758 of the dimensions of 60 x 30 feet, and that Presbyterians continued to preach in the Northern Neck.⁽¹⁾

Northumberland Church.— The meetings in Northumberland were first held in a store-room owned by Col. Gordon, but in 1761 a commodious meeting house was erected, to the building of which the Lancaster church freely contributed.⁽²⁾ This with the meeting house in Lancaster which had been erected three or four years before made at least two meeting houses in the Northern Neck when James Waddell took up his residence there in the fall of 1762.

Occurrence on Church Records.— The first application to Hanover Presbytery from the Northern neck for supplies was for April 27, 1757, "An importunate application being made to Mr. Davies from some people in and about Richmond county, to come

(1) Ibid. 94-95. (2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 120.

and preach to them, the Presbytery appoint him to preach there the last Sabbath in June." In July of the same year a similar request came from Lancaster and Northumberland, and Mr. Davies was again appointed to supply. Jan. 25, 1758 Rev. Henry Patillo was appointed to preach the third and fourth Sabbaths of April in the Northern Neck, and at a meeting of Presbytery, April 26, 1758, they asked for more supplies and the administration of the Sacrament, and Patillo was appointed to preach--"the third Sabbath of June in Lancaster; the Friday before in Richmond; the fourth in Northumberland; the first of July in Westmoreland, and the second at discretion." Mr. Davies was appointed to preach there again in the fall of 1758, and to officiate at a sacrament with the assistance of Mr. Todd in Lancaster, the last of the following March. Thus from year to year these four counties asked and received supplies until the fall of 1762, when Rev. James Waddell was settled as pastor of these churches.(1) They also received some supplies from northern Presbyteries, among whom we find such men as Rev. James Hunt, and Rev. James Caldwell, both of New Brunswick Presbytery, the latter of whom was afterwards barbarously murdered in New Jersey.(2)

Conduct Own Worship.— The names of some of the families composing these churches are very interesting, such as Criswell, Shackelford, Thornton, Flood, Morris, Craighead, De Graftemead, Blackwell, Taylor, Boyd, Chichester, Mitchell, Gordon, Carter, Wright, Glasscock, Robertson, Selden, etc. Many of these gentlemen could be relied on to conduct worship in the absence of

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 364-365.

a minister. Such entries as these are frequent in Gordon's Journal, " Sunday, May 3, 1761. This day Col. Selden read a sermon in the meeting house and John Mitchell prayed." Again, "Mr. Criswell read a sermon and prayed at the meeting house," and so repeatedly. Family religion seemed to be carefully cultivated, "Sunday, January 31, 1762. At home with my family. Molly said all the Shorter Catechism; James fifty-six of the Larger; and Mollie Herring, one hundred and six." (1)

Number of Members.- As giving some idea of the number of members in these churches, Gordon Tells us the number communing at different Sacraments (most likely at Lancaster C.H.). March 25, 1759 there were fifty-four communicants; July 24, 1761 there were twenty new communicants and fifty old ones; April 24, 1763 there were ninety white and twenty-three black communicants; and still later "September 11th, the sacrament of the Supper was administered to about one hundred and fifteen white, and thirty-five black communicants." These numbers must have increased much more during Mr. Waddell's long ministry. (2)

JAMES WADDELL

Childhood.- James Waddell, whose exceptional service in the church demands special mention here, was born at Newry in the province of Ulster, Ireland, July 1739, and that same fall was brought by his parents to Pennsylvania. Here he remained with his pious Scotch-Irish parents until he was about fourteen. The particular circumstance, in addition to his natural talents, that turned the attention of his parents to

(1) Gordon's Journal, Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 359-70

(2) Ibid.

seek a liberal education for him, in preference to his brothers, and made possible for him a professional life of usefulness and livelihood, was a painful occurrence. When a small boy, he went hunting with his brothers, and in the excitement of cutting a hare out of a hollow tree, James put his hand in the way and got it cut almost in two. Hastily gathering up the fingers and part of the hand, and pressing them together, he ran to his parents. The mutilated hand was banded and the wound healed, but the fingers and the lower part of the hand never increased in size. This situation induced his parents to give him a liberal education, and he was sent to the "log college" of Dr. Finley at Nottingham. Such was his progress, especially in the classics, that at an early age he was made a tutor in the school. It was here that he became a member of the church, but he always dated his religious impressions to the instructions of his mother.(1)

Preparation and License.- Having decided to teach, he set out to locate in the South. While passing through Hanover county in Virginia, he met Rev. Samuel Davies, who influenced him to change his plans and devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel, the work to which his mother's prayers had previously dedicated him. He entered at once upon his theological studies under direction of Rev. John Todd, of Louisa county;(2) and having been received as a candidate by Hanover Presbytery at the Stone Church, Augusta County, in April, 1760, and passed the necessary trials he was licensed at Tinkling Spring,

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 121; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 349-350. (2) Ibid.-Foote, 351.

April 2, 1761. He then signed the following declaration:(1)

"I believe the doctrines contained in the Confession of Faith to be agreeable to the Word of God, contained in the Old and New Testaments, and subscribe them accordingly, as the confession of my faith. JAMES WADDELL."

This confession, or declaration, was written at the top of a page in the records of the Presbytery, and beneath are the autographs of the members of Presbytery written in the order of seniority, as they became members of the Presbytery. Waddell was then appointed "to supply all our vacancies in Virginia, and those in North Carolina that depend on this Presbytery, at his discretion, till the fall Presbytery."(2)

Receives Numerous Calls.- Many of these vacancies visited by Mr. Waddell liked his services so well that they invited him to be their pastor. The extent of the desolations, and the ministerial talent of the young candidate, may be judged by the record of the fall meeting of Presbytery, Oct. 7, 1761,-- "The following calls were put into Presbytery for Mr. Waddell, viz:--one from Upper Falling and the Peaks of Otter, one from Nutbush and Grassy Creek, one from Brown's meeting-house and Jennings' gap, one from the Fork of James River in Augusta, and one from Halifax,"--none of which he considered. But the next day he had a call from Bedford which he did consider, and Presbytery directed him to spend half of his time there until the next meeting, and the remainder at his discretion.(3)

Accepts Call to Lancaster and Northumberland.- Presbytery continued to direct his services from meeting to meeting until Oct. 7, 1762, when at a meeting of Presbytery at Providence,

(1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

Louisa, "Mr. Waddell accepts of a call from Lancaster and Northumberland counties, in which the Presbytery heartily concur." He had been ordained several months previous, June, 17, 1762,(1) and not until May 1763, did he take the "oaths agreeable to law" for dissenters.(2)

Success.- Mr. Waddell's ministry of about sixteen years in the Northern Neck was very successful, so much so that the cause of religion flourished more here than in any other part of the State. He was much loved, admired, and respected by all his people. Col Gordon makes these remarks in his private Journal for Dec. 31, 1763, at the end of Mr. Waddell's first year there: "Blessed be the Lord for all his mercies to us this year. O may our minds be more and more engaged in his service, and begin the New Year with new hearts, and with sincere minds give up ourselves to him." During Mr. Whitefield's visit in 1763, Col Gordon makes this entry for Sept. 4th, "Mr. Whitefield, Mr. Waddell, and Mr. Wright went with me to the upper meeting house, where Mr. Whitefield preached from Matthew, xxv. 10, to a crowded house. Mr. Waddell was obliged to make the negroes go out to make room for the white people."(3)

Meets Opposition.- Though Mr. Waddell's work in the Northern Neck was so successful, it does not mean that it was easy. He met with much opposition from the Established clergy, and though he was never fined or jailed, he was assailed both from the pulpit and by the press, as well as from quarters and by

(1) Ibid. (2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 369.

(3) Gordon's Journal, Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 369-70.

means he could neither retaliate or notice. His capability of defending himself is seen in a letter to Rev. Wm. Gisberne, published in the Virginia Gazette. On one occasion he happened to go into Gisberne's church to worship, but Gisberne did not come and Waddell was invited to preach. The impression made by his sermon was so pervading that Mr. Gisberne took occasion in a sermon to say many hateful things of Mr. Waddell. He called him a "pickpocket, dark-lantern, moonlight preacher," etc., and read a hue and cry, for the arrest of "the new-light, instigated by folly, impudence and the devil, and bring him to the whipping post." Mr. Waddell's answer,^{given in the Virginia Gazette,} though somewhat long is well worth giving here: (1)

"To the Rev. Mr. W.G., Rector of Lunenburg Parish in Richmond.
July 21, 1768.

Rev. Sir- There are few so passive as quietly to submit to the misrepresentations of ridicule, or silently to bear the false charges of prejudice and arrogance. A mistaken prudence may silence some, and fearfulness others: for my part I think I am under the influence of neither. As a member of civil society, I am protected, while I behave well, by the laws of my country; and as a Presbyterian minister, I discharge the duties of my office under the same protection. I therefore consider myself more upon a level with my fellow subjects than will be, perhaps, pleasing to you; and enjoying the privilege to remark on your hard speeches with the same freedom and impunity which a seemly reply from you will deserve.

As a Presbyterian, I approve the doctrinal articles of the established religion according to the act of toleration--and as a minister, I preach agreeable to them. An occasional sermon of this kind, in compliance with a request, might be allowed any where in our province, without any abuse of law or offence to men. Such I preached by invitation at your upper church, when I attended to hear you. My being there, and your not coming, seemed both altogether casual. In your pulpit I was the advocate of virtue and friend of Christianity: I reflected on no one, nor descended to any peculiarity of sect or party. Yet you chose to represent me in sundry discourses on several Sabbaths, as a composition of all sects which were least known to your hearers, or most likely to be hated by them. Like a cowardly boy that would rather waste his passion by giving

(1) Given in Sketches of Virginia, Foote, 372-375.

nick-names, than risk a battle, you called me a pickpocket, dark-lantern, moonlight preacher, and enthusiast. However, if you are pleased with this childish sport, I do not mean to rob you of the pleasure. A moonlight preacher, I suppose, signifies one that shines with a borrowed light, as the plagiarist does. But, if we may believe you, I cannot be suspected of being one. And lest any^{of} your parishoners should be influenced by the example of my stated hearers and friends to respect me, you attempted regardless of what is most esteemed by the gentleman and the Christian, to sully their reputation, and bring them and me into disrepute together. Do you use such weak and unhandsome methods to prevent them coming to hear me, from a persuasion that their coming would hurt their character. They must certainly be obliged to you for being so much more regardful of their character than you seem to be of your own. Or do you think my doctrine or example endangers their happiness? They are the best judges of that. And you ought to consider that though they be obliged to pay you, they are not obliged in the same sense to hear you.

In one of your Sunday orations, you published, I understand, a "hue and cry," directed to "all well disposed persons who were lovers of the faith and truth," requiring them "to apprehend a certain illiterate new-light preacher, who instigated by folly, natural impudence, and the devil, had taken the advantage of your indisposition and entered your pulpit, which was to be kept sacred, and then belched out his nonsense and ignorance for an hour, to the laughter of some and contempt of others, and to bring the vagrant to George Jerker's, at the publick whipping-post of the country, to be dealt with according to law.

You might be greatly pleased with the beauty of your own thoughts and elegance of expression in the piece--but however great its merits may be, on both accounts, I think it was not very fit to make a part of a sermon, at the head of which stood these words, "Earnestly contend for the faith once delivered to the saints." I do not mean, sir, that there was any impropriety in making it a part of your discourse. I only mean that it could not be connected with your sacred text, or delivered in the way it was, without profaneness in the author, abuse of the pulpit, contempt of the Sabbath, and affront to the Christian audience and to God. You might have used Dr. Sherlock's sermon on that text, against the Popish rescuants, which is written with his usual judgment and decency, without being chargeable with any unusual inconsistency; but perhaps you thought his method of treating the enemies of his religion, of his king and country, was too genteel for my demerit. I must here beg leave to clear your parishoners of the reproachful indecency of laughing in church, with which you have charged them. Sensible that they were hearing a sermon very different from what you intimate, they were in general grave, and of better manners than their parson. If any smiled, it was more from custom, I believe, than from any disrespect to me.

These hints will suffice, I hope, to show how little I regard the rhodomontade of the Aeolian family. If you had been

apprised of this in time, you certainly would have suppressed some windy preachments, which have done no honour to your reputation as a defender of the faith, although you might, through an unhappy mistake, view them with emotions of uncommon joy, as proofs of genius and trumpeters of your glory.

I will now venture to recommend to your perusal the seventy-fifth canon of your church, which besides other particulars to be noticed by you, requires that you should endeavor to profit the church of God, having always in mind that you ought to excel all others in purity of life, and be an example to the people to live well and Christianly, under pain of ecclesiastical censure, to be inflicted with severity. Some would be so rude as to interrogate you here; but I rather beg leave to add the fifty-third canon to the former, which orders "that above all things you should abstain from bitter invectives and scurrilous language against any persons whatsoever." Finding you thus condemned by the voice of kings, and by all the lords spiritual of Great Britain, and signing your confession of guilt, I bid you a cordial farewell, assuring you, sir, that in this, and in other things wherein you think me your enemy,

I am your friend and most humble servant,
JAMES WADDELL."

Removal, Blindness, Death.— About 1768 Waddell married Mary, a daughter of his elder Col. James Gordon, who shortly afterwards established him in a new and commodious house on the Curratoman River. However, in a few years it became evident that a change of climate would be necessary for his health, and as some of his leading members were moving to the mountain regions of Virginia, he took under consideration a call from the Tinkling Spring congregation in 1776,(1) and in 1778 he removed his family to a place called Spring Hill, a few miles above Waynesboro, on the South Fork on the Shenandoah. In 1785, he returned to Eastern Virginia and made his home near Gordonsville. Here he spent the rest of his life, part of which was passed in total blindness. His loss of sight, however, did not keep him from the pulpit, but he continued

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery for May 1, 1776.

to preach until his last protracted illness, which ended in his death of Christian triumph, Sept. 17, 1805.(1)

His Appearance.-- Dr. Waddell was a tall thin man, with a long face, high fore-head, light blue eyes, and fair complexion. "He wore long white top boots, small clothes buckled at the knee, a long strait-bodied coat, and a white wig."(2)

A Popular Preacher.-- Waddell was a very eloquent preacher, and held his hearers spell bound. A miserley man said of one of his sermons on the love of God, "the snow flakes had been falling pretty freely around the house, but had any one told me that guineas lay as thick as the snow flakes, I could not have gone out to gather any till he was done."(3) Patrick Henry was accustomed to say that Davies and Waddell were the greatest orators he ever heard.(4) One day when a number of sailors were present in the church Dr. Waddell preached from the words, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" Some of the sailors were moved to tears by the appeals of the preacher. At one point in his discourse, he repeated the question, "And what does Peter say?" Then an old sailor, whose name was Peter, arose from his seat in the congregation, and, with tears streaming down his cheeks, made the answer, "Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee."(5)

Wirt's Description.-- It will be fitting to close this sketch of the life of this great man with some of Mr. Wirt's description of him as it appeared in the British Spy:(6)

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 122-3.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I 385. (3) Ibid.

(4) Presb'm in North'n Va., Graham, 123. (5) Southern Presbn. Leaders, White, 61. (6) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 381-3.

"It was one Sunday, as I travelled through the county of Orange, that my eye was caught by a cluster of horses tied near a ruinous old wooden house, in the forest, not far from the roadside...On entering, I was struck with his (the preacher's) preternatural appearance; he was a tall and very spare old man; his head, which was covered with a white linen cap, his shrivelled hands, and his voice, were all shaking under the influence of a palsy; and a few moments ascertained to me that he was perfectly blind.

"The first emotions which touched my breast, were those of mingled pity and veneration, But ah! how soon were all my feelings changed! The lips of Plato were never more worthy of a prognostic swarm of bees, than were the lips of this holy man! It was a day of the administration of the sacrament; and his subject of course, was the passion of our Saviour. I had heard the subject handled a thousand times--I had thought it exhausted long ago. Little did I suppose, that in the wild woods of America, I was to meet with a man whose eloquence would give to this topic a new and more sublime pathos, than I had ever before witnessed.

"As he descended from the pulpit, to distribute the mystic symbols, there was a peculiar, a more than human solemnity in his air and manner which made my blood run cold, and my whole frame shiver.

"He then drew a picture of the sufferings of our Saviour; his trial before Pilate; his ascent up Calvary; his crucifixion, and his death. I knew the whole history; but never, till then, had I heard the circumstances so selected, so arranged, so coloured! It was all new: and I seemed to have heard it for the first time in my life. His enumeration was so deliberate, that his voice trembled on every syllable; every heart in the assembly trembled in unison. His peculiar phrases had that force of description that the original scene appeared to be, at that moment, acting before our eyes. We saw the very faces of the Jews: the staring frightful distortions of malice and rage. We saw the buffet; my soul kindled with a flame of indignation; and my hands were involuntarily and convulsively clenched.

"But when he came to touch on the patience, the forgiving meekness of our Saviour; when he drew, to the life, his blessed eyes streaming in tears to heaven; his voice breathing to God, a soft and gentle prayer of pardon on his enemies, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'--the voice of the preacher, which had all along faltered, grew fainter and fainter, until his utterance being entirely obstructed by the force of his feelings, he raised his handkerchief to his eyes, and burst into a loud and irrepressible flood of grief. The effect is inconceivable. The whole house resounded with the mingled groans, and sobs, and shrieks of the congregation." After this subsided there was a death-like silence. "The first sentence with which he broke the awful silence, was a quotation from Rousseau, --'Socrates died like a philosopher, but Jesus Christ like a God!'

"I despair of giving you any idea of the effect produced by this short sentence, unless you could perfectly conceive the

whole manner of the man, as well as the peculiar crisis in the discourse. Never before did I completely understand what Demosthenes meant by laying such stress on delivery...If he had been indeed and in truth an angel of light, the effect could scarcely have been more divine.

"Whatever I had been able to conceive of the sublimity of Massillon, or the force of Bourdaloue, **had** fallen far short of the power which I felt from the delivery of this simple sentence. The blood, which just before had rushed in a hurricane upon my brain, and in the violence and agony of my feelings, had held my whole system in suspense, now ran back into my heart, with a sensation which I cannot describe--a kind of shuddering, delicious horror! The paroxysm of blended piety and indignation to which I had been transported, subsided into the deepest self-abasement, humility and adoration. I had just been lacerated and dissolved by sympathy, for our Saviour as a fellow-creature; but now, with fear and trembling, I adored him as--'a God!'. . .

"This man has been before my imagination almost ever since. A thousand times, as I rode along, I dropped the reins of my bridle, stretched forth my hand, and tried to imitate his quotation from Rousseau; a thousand times I abandoned the attempt in despair, and felt persuaded that his peculiar manner and power arose from an energy of soul, which nature could give, but which no human being could justly copy. In short, he seems to be altogether a being of a former age, or of a totally different nature from the rest of men."

After Waddell left the Northern Neck, the churches there continued to petition successfully for supplies and the administration of the Lord's Supper first from the Presbytery of Hanover, and then the Presbytery of Winchester for a number of years, but little progress was made.⁽¹⁾ During the Revolutionary War, they visibly declined, and finally were pretty much absorbed by the Baptists. By the middle of the next century the churches had practically ceased to exist.⁽²⁾ However, do not think that Waddell's efforts were lost. These people merely moved to other parts and spread the good things they had received at his hands to other communities.

(1) MS. Records Hanover and Winchester Presbyteries.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 124.

Other Old Churches in The Northern Neck.

Besides Mr. Waddell's work there were other and in reality more permanent places of work in the Northern Neck. We will give here some brief sketches of these churches.

1. Culpeper Court House.

The name "Culpeper" is first found in the Donegal records for April 1771, when Rev. Hugh Vance was appointed to supply in the County, without the designation of any particular place. The next year, 1772, Rev. Thompson, Slemons, Craighead, and Thom were sent to supply several places in the county specially named, "Gourdvine," "Rappahannock," and "The North Branch of the Rappahannock." These names shortly afterwards disappear from the records. In October 1775, Mr. Vance is directed to "supply Capt. Conn's at Culpeper C.H." Mr. Vance is also sent in 1776, and again in 1777. In April 1778, Culpeper C.H. asks for supplies; and in reply we find the names of James McConnell, Samuel Waugh, Joseph Henderson, and Hezekiah Balch, each being sent to supply for a month or more until 1780, after which the name drops from the Donegal records.(1) However, it is taken up in the Hanover records Oct. 22, 1782,(2) and then Winchester Presbytery supplies them for several years. Williamson was appointed to preach in Culpeper four different times between April 27, 1798 and Sept. 19, 1800.(3) Thomas W. Hooper is their present pastor, and they have a membership of ninety-one communicants.(4)

(1) Ibid. 82-84. (2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(3) MS. Records Winchester Presbytery.

(4) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 277.

2. Alexandria.

This church first appears in the Donegal records for April 1772, when Rev. James Hunt, Amos Thompson, and James Lang were appointed to preach there. In June Rev. Wm. Thom was ordered to supply Alexandria. This led to a call for Mr. Thom which he accepted, and the same year became their pastor. His ministry was very brief owing to his death before the close of the following year, 1773. The Alexandria church remained vacant, though not unsupplied, until 1780, when the Rev. Isaac S. Keith accepted a call and became their pastor which he retained until 1789. In the spring of this year Rev. James Muir was called, and continued their pastor until his death in 1820.(1)

When the General Assembly, in 1792, made the Potomac River the dividing line between the Synods of Philadelphia and Virginia, they made an exception in the case of the Alexandria church, leaving it in the Presbytery of Baltimore, Synod of Philadelphia; and in that connection it remained until 1853, when, at its own request, it was transferred to the Presbytery of Winchester, Synod of Virginia.(2)

3. Kittoctin (Catoctin)

This church now spelt "Catoctin" is located in Waterford, Loudoun county. We first meet with the name in 1776, and it is apparently a fully equipped church with a minister in charge, "Supplications were received from Kittoctin and Gum Spring, in Loudoun county, Va.," which stated that "Rev. Amos Thompson,

(1) Presbyterianism in Northern Va., Graham, 79-80.

(2) Ibid. 81.

the pastor of these churches, was absent as chaplain in the Continental army." We cannot be sure when Mr. Thompson became pastor of these churches, but we find that after his ordination by New Brunswick Presbytery in 1763 or 1764, he was sent to labor for some time in Loudoun county, Va.⁽¹⁾ It is likely that he built up and organized these churches himself under the direction of New Brunswick Presbytery, but as Donegal Presbytery now assumed the supervision of the missionary work in Northern Virginia, he transferred his presbyterial relations to the controlling Presbytery. It is probable that, at the close of the war, he returned to his native state (Connecticut), and joined the Congregationalists, for we do not find his name again until 1799 when he is being received into Winchester Presbytery from the Litchfield Association. After four years of depending upon supplies, during which time they enjoyed the services of Rev. James Lang, John McKnight, Samuel Waugh, and Hugh Vance, the churches of Kittockton and Hum Spring despaired of the return of their pastor and called Rev. David Pard in 1782, who only remained two years. We know very little of the history of this church for some years, but it is not likely that such thriving churches would be long without a minister. Mr. Thompson may have served them after returning to his old home until his death in 1804.⁽²⁾ The present pastor is Rev. John A. Bowman, and the membership is one hundred.⁽³⁾

We do not find the name of the Gum Spring Church again after the resignation of Mr. Bard in 1782. It is now extinct.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Records Synod of New York and Philadelphia, May 23, 1764.

(2) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 84-88.

(3) Min.Gen.As. 1931, 277. (4) Presbm. in Northn. Va., Graham, 90.

4. Turkey Run (Warrenton)

Turkey Run is a few miles east of Warrenton in Fauquier county. In April 1778, this church asked for supplies of Donegal Presbytery, and Rev. Samuel Waugh was appointed "to supply some Sabbaths at Turkey Run and parts adjacent.(1) Hanover Presbytery reports Fauquier vacant Sept. 18, 1786, and April 30, 1787 Waddell was appointed two Sabbaths there.(2) Sept. 27, 1798 Winchester Presbytery appointed Williamson to preach in Fauquier.(3) Graham tells us that "Old 'Parson Williamson' spent the most of his ministry in that region, and his daughter, still living there at a very advanced age, learned from her father that before and after 1800, Presbyterian services were regularly held at a certain point on that stream until they were transferred to the town of Warrenton." This testimony, as well as the nearness to the growing town, practically removes all doubts that the Old Turkey Run church was removed to Warrenton.(4) The church now has ninety-five members.(5)

5. Leesburg.

Leesburg, the county seat of Loudoun county, was established in 1758. The English church had divided the county in parishes, and Leesburg was in the Parish of Cameron. Some Presbyterians of this Parish and the Parish of Shelbourne asked the Presbytery of Donegal for supplies in October 1780, and Samuel Waugh

(1) Ibid. 77. (2) MS.Rec. Hanover Presbytery.
(3) MS. Records Winchester Presbytery.
(4) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 77-78.
(5) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 278.

was appointed to supply them until the next spring. The name of "Leesburg" appears for the first and only time in June 1782, when David Bard was ordered "to supply Leesburg until the next meeting of Presbytery." As Leesburg was Bard's native town, it is quite likely that he complied with this order. Tradition tells us that Dr. James Hall of North Carolina, preached here frequently on his journeys to and from the General Assembly at Philadelphia, and organized the church in 1804. Rev. John Mines was its first regular pastor.(1) The church now has 147 members, and Rev. J.S.Montgomery is their pastor.(2)

Other Meeting Places.

There are several other meeting places mentioned in the records from one to four or five times, and are as follows:

Greenwich.-- Once, April 27, 1798, Legrand appointed to supply one Sabbath.(3)

Prince William.-- Occurs four times and may be the same as above since Greenwich is in Prince William County,--First, May 16, 1799 until Sept. 19, 1800, receiving supplies from Hoge, Hill, Legrand, and Williamson, each one Sabbath.(3)

Middleburg.-- Four times, April 27, 1798--Sept. 19, 1800, receiving supplies from Hill and Williamson, (3)

Smithfield.-- Once, Sept. 19, 1800, Hill appointed one Sabbath.(3)

(1) Presby'sm in Northern Va., Graham, 102-3.

(2) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p.277.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XIX

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA

Counties.— Southwest Virginia was originally all embraced in Augusta County. In 1770 Botetourt county, named after Gov. Lord Botetourt, was formed embracing all the the Southwestern region. In 1772, Fincastle county, named from the seat of Lord Botetourt in England, was formed extending from Roanoke River northwest to the Ohio River, and west to the Mississippi. The county seat of Fincastle was Fort Chiswell, now in Wythe county. In 1776, Fincastle county was abolished and the counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky were erected out of its territory. In time these were divided and subdivided until the present counties resulted.(1)

Early Explorations.— The first white man to see Southwest Virginia, according to Summers, was the Spanish Explorer, De Soto, who penetrated into Southwest Virginia in 1540, and found a tribe of Indians living there at that time.(2)

The House of Burgesses of Virginia encouraged exploration beyond the mountains, but did not seem to get any results further than that Maj. Abram Wood in 1654 actually crossed the mountains at what was named Wood's Gap and discovered New River,

(1) Virginia Counties, Robinson; Also see Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, Hale, 106-7.

(2) History of Southwest Virginia, Summers, 21.

which for some time was called Wood's River.(1) In 1667 Capt. Henry Batt crossed the mountains near the North Carolina line and penetrated as far west as New River.(2)

There are no records of any more exploring parties into Southwest Virginia for nearly a century. Tradition tells us that Thomas Ingles and his eldest son William, then a youth, made an excursion through the wilds of Southwest Virginia as far as New River about 1744.(3)

From the surveyor's office of Augusta county at Staunton, we find the record of several tracts of land surveyed in Washington County by John Buchanan as early as 1746.(4)

First Settlements.— In 1748 Dr. Thomas Walker, Cols. Jas. Patton, John Buchanan, James Wood, and Maj. Charles Campbell, and some hunters made an excursion through Southwest Virginia into Kentucky, discovering and naming Cumberland Gap, Cumberland Mountains, and Cumberland River. Soon after their return, a party made up of Thomas Ingles and his three sons, William, Matthew, and John, Mrs. George Draper and her son John, and daughter Mary, Adam Harmon, Henry Lenard, and James Burke, came west and settled on the waters of New River--the first settlement made west of the Alleghanies. This was near the present site of Blacksburg, and was called Draper's Meadows. William Ingles and Mary Draper were married here in 1750--the first white wedding west of the Alleghanies.(5)

(1) Ibid. 18, 35-37; Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, Hale, 19-24.

(2) Hist. of Va., Campbell, 268; Annals of S.W. Va., Summers, 1-7.

(3) Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, Hale, 12-13.

(4) Hist. Southwest Va., Summers, 44.

(5) Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, Hale, 15-27; See Annals of Southwest Va., Summers, 8-26, for Journal of Dr. Thos. Walker.

Indian Raid.- A party of Indians attacked the settlement in 1755, killing four persons, wounding two, and taking four prisoners. Among the prisoners were Mrs. Ingles, Mrs. Draper, both of whom after many hardship finally returned to their homes.(1)

Presbyterians.- It is very likely that these first settlers were Presbyterians. Most of their descendants which have radiated to all parts of the Southwest, have belonged to the Presbyterian Church and have been noted for talent, honor and character.(2)

Draper's Meadow-Ingles Ferry.- This settlement was an out-laying advanced post of civilization, on the edge of the then great Western wilderness, and soon became a place of rendezvous and point of departure, for individuals, families and parties bent on Western adventure, exploration, emigration or speculation.(3) From this rendezvous James Burke went to Burke's Garden in the present county of Tazwell, in 1754. Settlements were also made about 1754 on Back Creek in Pulaski county, and Ingles-Ferry on both sides of New River. About this same time Reed, the Irishman, located at Dublin, McCorkle at Dunkard's Bottom, two families on Cripple Creek, a tributary of New River, in Wythe county, and near this, just over the divide, one or two families on the head waters of the Holston, now in Smythe county.(4) Other settlers came to New River and the Holston in 1756, led by Evan Shelby, Wm. Campbell,

(1) For more complete story of this raid see pp.175-6.

(2) Herndon Papers. (3) Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, Hale, 101.

(4) Ibid. 102.

Wm Preston, and Daniel Boone, and took up "corn rights"--each acquiring a title to an hundred acres of adjoining land, for every acre planted in corn.(1)

Ingles Ferry was the door of entrance by which the tide of immigration came into the Appalachian country and beyond. Here was one end of the famous "Wilderness Road," which went by way New River, Fort Chiswell, Cumberland Gap, and the Boone Trace into Kentucky. Until the advent of the railroad it was by Ingles Ferry that all kind of merchandise was hauled into the west in Wagons, from Baltimore, Richmond, and Lynchburg.(2)

Campbells.— In 1765 John Campbell, who was afterwards clerk of the Washington county court, visited the waters of the Holston with Dr. Walker, and purchased for his father, David Campbell, and himself from John Buchanan a large tract of land near the head waters of Holston River, containing 740 acres, called "Royal Oak," near the present site of Marion. In 1768 Joseph Martin accompanied a band of twenty or more men to Powell's Valley, now in Lee county, where they built a fort and a number of cabins and cleared ground and planted corn. This settlement was broken up by indians in the latter part of the same year. Soon after, John and Arthur Campbell and their sister, Margaret, settled at Royal Oak, and the next year, 1769, David Campbell, the father, with his wife and sons, James, David, Robert, and Patrick, and his daughters, Mary, Martha, Sarah, and Ann came out and settled at the same place.(3)

(1) Border Warfare, Withers, 49.

(2) Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, Hale, 109-112.

(3) History of Southwest Virginia, Summers, 84.

Other Settlers.— In 1766 two hunters named Carr and Butler, built a cabin at a place afterwards known as "Crab Orchard" about three miles west from Tazwell court house. Three years later Carr moved to about two miles east of Tazwell C.H. In 1768 and 1769 a great flood of settlers over ran Southwest Virginia. James Bryan settled near Moab, and erected Bryan's Fort; Wm. Cocke settled on Spring Creek, then called Renfro's Creek, and erected Cocke's Fort; Anthony Bledsoe settled in the lower end of the county about thirty miles east of Long Island, on the Fort Chiswell road, and afterwards build Bledsoe's Fort; Amos Eaton settled seven miles east of Long Island, where Eaton's Fort was afterwards built. By the beginning of 1770 there were many settlers upon the Holston.(1)

The first settlers of the Liberty Hall neighborhood were the Edmistons, Moores and Buchanans. All the land from Liberty Hall to some distance east of Friendship was held by Wm Edmiston under a grant from Charles II of England, and under the king's proclamation in 1763--Edmiston being an officer in the French and Indian War of 1754-63. Ft. Edmiston was built on the Snodgrass farm about 1763. Capt. James Thompson at this time owned a tract of land near Glade Spring on which he built Ft. Thompson.(2)

The first settlers who came to Winener's Valley were from Germany, about 1767 or 1768. About this time John and Michael Fleenor settled in Poor Valley; Casper and Nicholas Fleenor in Rich Valley.(3)

(1) Ibid. 84- 103. (2) Ibid. 103-4. (3) 104-5.

In 1771 Absalom Looney settled in Abb's Valley, now in Tazwell county. Thomas Whitten and Thomas Greenup settled at Crab Orchard, a few miles west of Tazwell C.H.; Mathias, Jacob, and Henry Harmon settled a few miles east of Tazwell C.H.; and John Craven, Joseph Martin, James King and John Bradshaw settled in Tazwell county, on the Headwaters of the Clinch. During this year the Holston settlements received a large number of immigrants from North Carolina, where internal conditions were very bad.(1)

In 1773 James Moore and James Poage settled in Abb's Valley, Wm. Wynn at Locust Hill, John Taylor and Jesse Evans on the North Fork of the Clinch; Thomas Maxwell, Benj. Joslin, James Ogletton, Peter and Jacob Harmon, Samuel Ferguson and Wm. Webb, near Tazwell C.H.; Rees Bowen at Maiden Spring, David Ward in the Cove, and Wm. Garrison at the foot of Morris' Knob.(2)

Characteristics.— The first settlers in Southwest Virginia were a remarkable race of people for their intelligence, enterprise, and hardy adventure. An occasional English family came from east of the Blue Ridge mountains, but the greater portion emigrated from the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia and even from Maryland and Pennsylvania. They were mostly Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and though there may have been a few families, generally among the more wealthy, that were wild and dissipated in their habits; the great majority were clean livers, clear thinkers, and brave fighters. They were among the first to petition for religious and civil liberty, and not the last

(1) Ibid. 115.

(2) Ibid. 116.

to shoulder arms in its defense, as attested by such heroism shown in the battles of Point Pleasant against the Indians, and King's Mountain against the British, both of which were decisive battles.(1)

Homes.-- The houses, furniture, and living conditions were about the same as for the early settlers in the Shenandoah Valley.(2) The Indians were troublesome from the very start making all these adventures very hazardous.(3)

(1) Gov. David Campbell Manuscripts.-- Given in Herndon Papers. Also see Historical Sketches of Abingdon Presby, McCluer, 3.

(2) See pp. 150-153.

(3) See Chapter XII above and Charles Cummings below; Hist. Southwest Va., Summers, 55-107; Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, Hale, 25-143.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM
IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XX

ABINGDON PRESBYTERY

Organization.— An application was laid before the Synod of New York and Philadelphia May 20, 1785 "signed by Messrs. Hezekiah Balch, Charles Cummings, and Samuel Doak, members of Hanover Presbytery, requesting that that part of Hanover Presbytery lying south of New River, might be erected into a separate Presbytery, by the name of Abingdon Presbytery..." This request was granted and the first meeting was set for the first Tuesday in August, 1785, in the Salem Church.(1) All minutes of this Presbytery before 1806 are lost, but we find from other records that the first members were Samuel Houston, David Roe, Adam Rankin, and the three named above. The following churches were within its bounds: in Virginia--Ebbing (Glade) Spring, Sinking Spring (Abingdon), Royal Oak (Marion), New Dublin, Green Spring, Rock Spring; in Tennessee--Salem, New Providence, Mt. Bethel, New Bethel, and Providence.(2)

Varied History.— The Presbytery of Abingdon has a varied, broken, and interesting history. It continued a part of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia for only three years, until the organization of the General Assembly in 1788, when all the district of Kentucky was cut off and formed into the Presbytery

(1) Records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia.

(2) Herndon Papers (no pagination)

of Transylvania, and connected with the Synod of Virginia. Abingdon Presbytery was then made a part of the Synod of the Carolinas. In 1797, on account of the Hopkinsian or Balch Controversary, the Synod formed the Presbytery of Union out of the southwest portion. In 1800 the Presbytery of Greenville was organized out of a part of Abingdon, but was dissolved in 1804. In 1803 Abingdon was transferred from the Synod of the Carolinas to the Synod of Virginia, and transferred again in 1825 to the Synod of Tennessee, which had been organized in 1817. The next year, 1826, Abingdon was again divided, and the Presbytery of Holston formed out of the southern part, - the southern boundary of Virginia being about the line. In 1838 the Presbyterian Church was rent asunder by the Old and New School Controversary. A small minority of Abingdon Presbytery adhered to the Old School, and were annexed to the adjoining Presbytery of Montgomery. The remainder of Abingdon Presbytery was organized by the New School Assembly into the Presbytery of New River, which in territory was coterminous with the old Presbytery of Abingdon.(1)

The Presbytery of New River continued in connection with the New School Assembly until 1857, when because of a radical paper on slavery adopted by that Assembly in Cleveland, Ohio, it withdrew and joined with other Southern Presbyteries in a meeting at Knoxville, Tenn. in May 1858, where the United Synod of the South was Organized. In 1864 the United Synod of the South and Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America were merged together. In consequence the Presbytery

(1) Ibid.

of New River was merged with the Presbytery of Montgomery.(1)

The present Presbytery of Abingdon, covering about the same territory as the old Presbytery in 1826, was erected by the Synod of Virginia in November 1866, and held its first meeting in Wytheville, May 9, 1867. In May 1915, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States erected the Synod of Appalachia, composed of Abingdon, Asheville, Holston, and Knoxville Presbyteries,(2) Abingdon Presbytery is still in that connection today, and embraces about fifteen counties in Southwest Virginia.

We shall now take a brief glimpse of the churches in this section which date their beginning back to the eighteenth century.

1. Sinking Spring.

Location, and First Meeting House.— This church is located in the town of Abingdon. The first meeting house stood about the middle of the present graveyard, and "was a very large cabin of unhewn logs, from eighty to a hundred feet long, by about forty wide,"(3) and was very likely built about 1774. May 3rd of this year, "A deed of Bargain and Sale from Thomas Walker gent to the Minister and Congregation of the Sinking Spring was proved by the oaths of Wm. Campbell, Arthur Campbell, and John Montgomery, three of the witnesses thereto and ordered to be recorded." (4)

Early Records.— The first mention of Sinking Spring on Church

(1) Ibid. (2) Manual of Abingdon Presbytery, 1.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 122.

(4) Annals of Southwest Va., Summers, 625.

records is found in the Minutes of Hanover Presbytery for May 4, 1763, when they petition for supplies. The next day Rev. John Brown was appointed to supply them two Sabbaths. Rev. John Craig preached in this section, including Sinking Spring in 1768. His report of this mission presented to Presbytery at the Spring meeting, April 13, 1769, reports Sinking Spring with seventy-five families, and seven representatives--John Mills, Joseph Cloyd, Edwd. Sharp, Benj. Hawkins, Thos McFerren, Robt. Finley, and Andrew Woods. It is most likely that these were Elders. This report shows that this church even at this early date was considerably strong. Two years later, Oct. 9, 1771, they united with Tinker Creek and sent in a call for "Wm. Irvin to be their minister," which was presented by Andrew Woods. When the call was not accepted, Mr. Woods asked for supplies for both churches, and James Campbell was appointed to preach for them.(1)

At the meeting of Presbytery at Rockfish April 8, 1772, we find "A call from the congregations of Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring on Holstein River was given in for Mr. Campbell, by John Douglass," but James Campbell died in September of that same year. The next year at the meeting of Presbytery at Browns June 2, 1773, "A call from the united congregations of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring was given in by Samuel Edmondson to be presented to Mr. Cummings, who accepted of the same.(2) This call has been preserved and is very interesting showing something of the spirit of the times. It is signed by 138 names.(3)

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover Presbytery. (2) Ibid.

(3) This Call is given in full in the Appendix.

Mr. Cummings remained the pastor of these churches for nearly a decade. In 1781 some difficulties occurred in the Sinking Spring Congregation about his singing Dr. Watt's Psalms and Hymns, which resulted in his resigning.(1) He was dismissed from Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring Churches May 23, 1782. The next year, May 29, 1783, "A call from Sinking Spring and Tinker's Creek was presented to Mr. (Adam) Rankin," which he accepted, but soon got in trouble with his session for baptizing children of suspended members.(2) Cummings is again reported as their pastor in 1788, and retained this relation until his death in 1812.(3) Rev. J.G. Patton is their present pastor and they have a membership of 398.(4)

Charles Cummings.-- Mr. Cummings was born in Ireland, came to America as a young man, resided for a while in Dr. Waddell's Congregation, where he was married to Miss Milly Carter,(5) He was licensed by Hanover Presbytery April 18, 1766, and accepted a call from Brown's in Augusta, October 16, 1766. He resigned this work in 1773 to accept the call to Ebbing and Sinking Spring Churches, and moving his family, he settled on some land he purchased in the neighborhood of where Abingdon now stands. This tract containing 300 acres was purchased from Dr. Walker for £ 33. At the same time he bought fifty-five more acres from Dr. Walker for five shillings, and had it deeded "to the minister and congregation of the Sinking Spring Church and their successors for the time being," dated

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby., Oct. 24, 1781. (2) Ibid. Records.

(3) Minutes Gen. Assem., 1789; MS. Sketches Abingdon Presby., McCluer, 14. (4) Minutes Gen. Assem., 1931, p. 186.

(5) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 122.

April 14, 1774. The town of Abingdon now stands on this plot of land.(1)

Indian Attack.-- During the first three or four years of Mr. Cummings residence on the Holston, the Indians were very troublesome, and during the summer months the families collected together in forts for safety. On one occasion, in July 1776, when his family were in the fort that stood on the first knoll on the Knob road, south of Abingdon, he with a servant and wagon and three neighbors were going to his farm, the party were attacked by Indians a few hundred yards from the Sinking Spring meeting house. Creswell, who was driving the wagon was killed at the first fire of the Indians, and later both of the other neighbors were wounded. Cummings and his servant, Job, drove the Indians from their ambush, and with the aid of some men from the fort, who heard their firing, brought in the dead and wounded.(2)

Armed at Church.-- Previous to 1776, the men never went to church without being armed, and taking their families with them. On Sunday morning during this period it was Mr. Cummings' custom to dress himself neatly, put on his shot pouch, shoulder his musket, mount his dun stallion, and ride off to church, where he found each man of his large, gallant, and intelligent congregation with his musket in his hand. He would then walk gravely through the crowd, ascend the steps of the pulpit, set his rifle in a corner, lay off his shot pouch, and begin the

(1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.; Sketches of Va., Foote, II,121; Herndon Papers.

(2) Ibid. Foote, 123; MS.Sks.Abingdon Presby.,McCluer,8.

service. Like other ministers of that time he began the service early in the day, and preached twice to the same people--once in the morning, and once in the afternoon with an intermission for dinner. Twice a year the Sacrament was spread before the people in the grove near the church.(1)

A Fighting Parson.-- Mr. Cummings, as we have already seen, was "a fighting parson." He did not hesitate to shoulder his musket and march against the Indians. In the summer of 1776 he joined a company of about 100 of his parishoners, organized at Abingdon under the command of Gen. Evan Shelby, and hurried to the relief of the settlers at Watauga. He accompanied an expedition against the Cherokees commanded by Col. Christian in the fall of the same year through the present state of Tennessee. He always preached frequently on these campaigns, encouraging the men and keeping their spirits up.(2)

Mr. Cummings was the first on the list of the Committee of Safety for Fincastle county, and when Washington county was formed in 1776, he was made chairman of the Committee of Safety, and "did much by his example and admonition to fire the spirit of patriotism which blazed forth so brilliantly among the people of the Holston in the Revolutionary War.(3)

Fincastle Resolutions.-- In 1775 Mr. Cummings was named first of a committee to draft a communication for the Freeholders of Fincastle county to the representatives of Virginia in the Continental Congress on the relations of the Colonies to the

(1) Ibid. (2) Hist. Presby'sm in S.W.Va, Preston.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 124; Herndon Papers.

British crown. The result was "the Fincastle Resolutions," supposed to have been written by Cummings.(1)

Mr. Cummings was a sincere and exemplary Christian, who never lost sight of his object, but always marched directly up to it with a full front and determined will. He was very active in missionary efforts in all that section beyond his own large field, at least once going into Kentucky. Most of the older churches in this section can trace their origin back to Cummings labors. He was about five feet ten inches high with a well formed figure. He had a strong personality with great firmness and dignity of character. His articulation was clear and distinct; his voice was so strong that without apparent effort, it was said, "he could speak to be heard by ten thousand people." He always spoke with solemn earnestness and expected this same solemnity from all his hearers. He died in March 1812, about eighty years of age, leaving many and respectable descendants.(2)

Mr. Cummings was followed at Sinking Spring by Revs. Stephen Bovell; Mr. Gallagher; Thomas Ogden, 1830; D.R. Preston, 1835; Wm. Preston, S.S., Stephen Taylor, 1840; James McChain, 1867; E.H. Borrett, 1883; P.D. Stevenson, and other noble men.⁽³⁾ J.G. Patton, Jr. is the present pastor, and the membership is 398.(4)

2. Glade Spring.

The Glade Spring Church was first planted at Ebbing Spring,

(1) Herndon Papers; See Chapter on Religious Freedom.

(2) Sks. of Va., Foote, II, 122-4; MS. Sks. Abingdon Pr., McCluer, 7; Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 101; Memoirs of C. Cummings, Troct.

(3) Ibid.-McCluer, 14. (4) Minutes Gen. Assem. 1931, p. 186.

by which name it was known for some years. This was about three miles southeast of its present site, and upon the north bank of the Middle Fork of the Holston River. The first building was similar to the one at Sinking Spring but not so large.(1)

First Record.-- The first mention of Ebbing Spring on the records is in connection with the call we have noted above for Mr. Campbell in the Spring of 1772, though there must have been a church here for some time previous. It is possible that this church was first called "Big Spring" in the Hanover Minutes for April 10, 1771 where we find this minute: "A representation by Mr. Cummings that he had congregated on the waters of Holstein the Big Spring congregation whose representatives are George Adams, Robert Buchanan, Richard Higgins, and Alex. Neilly." All of these names but the last were signed to the call in 1773 for Charles Cummings, showing that at least some of the same people were involved. Also its location agreeing with Ebbing Spring, and its disappearing from the records after Ebbing Spring appears, would lead us to believe it was the same church. Granting this, then the organization of Ebbing (Glade) Spring church is fixed sometime between Cummings' appointment, "to begin a tour at Hall's meeting house and go as far as the Royal Oak on Holstein," made Oct. 18, 1770; and the date of his report, Apr. 10, 1771.(2)

Pastors.-- We have seen above that Charles Cummings accepted the call from Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring churches in 1773, and remained until 1782.(3) What portion of his time he gave

(1) See Sinking Spring Church above; Memoirs of Charles Cummings--Given in MS.Sks.Abingdon Presby, McCluer, 4.

(2) MS.Rec. Hanover Presby. (3) Ibid.

gave to Ebbing Spring is not known. At the time he came Ebbing Spring included the families at Royal Oak, now Marion, where the Royal Oak church was organized in 1776.(1) About 1782 Mr. Craighead took charge of the church and remained until 1790. He was followed by Edward Crawford, who was in turn followed by Revs. Alexander McEwen about the year 1816-31; Philip Wood 1835-two or three short pastorates; Robert C. Graham 1843-for twelve months; A.G.Taylor 1844-unknown; Robert Glenn, Three years; Levi Morrison, 1848-1852; D.F.Palmer 1852-but a short time; Henry Smith 1856-9; J.J.McMahon 1861-about a year; R.L. McMurrain 1863-eighteen months; Henry M. White 1866-1875; J.O. Sullivan 1875-84; Frank McCutchan 1885-91; P.H.Gwinn 1892-1901; John R. Herndon 1902-7; G.W.Nickell 1907- etc.(2) The church through its long history of manifold difficulties has made splendid progress, and still pursued its work of faith and labor of Love. Rev. D.B.Walthall is the present pastor, and the membership is 475.(3)

Location and Name.- During the pastorate of Edward Crawford in 1792 the site of the church was moved about three miles to its present site at Glade Spring, and a meeting house erected of hewn logs, about 60 x 30 feet, which stood exactly on the site of the present building. It has been known since by the name of "Glade Spring,"--the name of the nearby spring. The name "Glade" was given the spring from the little grassy vale in the midst of the thick forests on its southeast side. The

(1) Herndon Papers.

(2) Centennial Sketch by H.M.White--Given in Herndon Papers.

(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 186.

land was given by Francis Kincanon, and the deed by which the property is now held was given by John Robinson Feb. 14, 1814, who had purchased the Kincanon property.(1)

Elders.- The names of at least two Elders of the Old Ebbing Spring Church are given us by R.R.Preston: 1. The Noted Gen. Wm. Campbell, who won the battle of King's Mountain, and turned the tide of the Revolutionary War "was an elder in the Glade Spring Church." Preston tells us that "all of his regiment was made up of Presbyterians from what was then Washington county, Virginia." 2. William Moore, who was wounded in the Battle of King's Mountain and left in Bickenstaff. As told by Preston we not only find out Moore's relationship to the Glade Spring Church, but we get a sample of the heroism of the pioneer women of that time in Mrs. Moore. She "heard of his bravery in battle, and mounting her horse, she rode alone in the month of November from her home near Ebbing Spring, the long and dangerous road through the mountains to Bickenstaff, found her husband, nursed him back to health and strength and brought him to his home, where he lived an honored Ruling Elder in that church till he died in 1826."(2)

3. New Dublin.

Location and Early Records.- New Dublin church is located about two miles from Dublin in Pulaski county. It first occurs in the Hanover records for April 13, 1769 as follows:(3)

"Mr. Craig, not being present at our last, returned an account of his mission which was appointed by last Spring Presby-

(1) MS. Sketches Abingdon Presbytery, McCluer, 10-11.

(2) History of Presby'sm in Southwest Va., Preston.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

tery; which being very satisfactory is ordered to be recorded in the Presbytery Book, which is as followeth-- Names of Congregations:.....6. New Dublin, 45 families, 45 pounds. Representatives, Joseph Howe, Samuel Colvill, John Taylor, Samuel Cloyd, James Montgomery."

Though the date of the organization of this church is generally given as 1782, it would seem like it was organized in some fashion before John Craig's visit there in 1768. At least he reports it as a congregation with Representatives.

New Dublin petitions for supplies Oct. 29, 1777, and Archd. Scott is appointed to preach for them. There is no record to show how they were supplied after this until Oct. 25, 1782, when Samuel Houston is appointed to supply them for six Sabbaths.(1) It is likely that they obtained supplies from Abingdon Presbytery after its organization in 1785, but all these early records are lost.

The first time we find the name in the records of Lexington Presbytery is for April 23, 1793, when Reed Creek and New Dublin in Abingdon Presbytery presented a call to John Lyle. Failing in securing Mr. Lyle, they joined with Boiling Spring "in the bounds of Abingdon Presbytery" and sent up a call to Adam Freeman of Lexington Presbytery Sept. 9, 1795, which he considered but declined. After this New Dublin is frequently found asking and receiving supplies of Lexington Presbytery through 1800. Among those appointed to preach for them are Robert Davis, John Lyle, and Wm. Chipley.(2)

Buildings.- The first meeting house of New Dublin must have been built during or before 1774, and surely before 1782. Very

(1) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (2) MS. Rec. Lexington Presby.

reliable tradition tells us that Col Joseph Cloyd, who had lived and married in Rockbridge county, promised his wife or fiancée that as soon as he was settled in his new home he would build a church convenient for her to attend so that she could worship as she had been accustomed. This promise was faithfully fulfilled and a frame building erected upon the ground where the present structure stands.(1) As to the time of this building-- Col. Cloyd must have been settled in his new home before 1774, for March 8, 1774 he was commissioned by the Governor of Virginia, as "Captain of a company of militia of the County of Fincastle," which at that time included all of southwest Virginia. Also, his three sons, Gordon, Thomas, and David, were all born between March 9, 1771 and May 1776, which shows that he was married and had a family at this time, and it is likely that they were all born in his new home. If this is true, surely Mrs. Cloyd did not have to wait from perhaps 1770 until 1782 for the fulfillment of a promise involving so much duty and pleasure as that which had been made to her by a loving husband or an honorable fiancée. This tradition becomes more authentic when we find that it comes from Maj. Cloyd, the grandson of Col. Cloyd, who always took a deep interest in the New Dublin Church, past as well as present, and who was the contemporary of his grandfather for twenty years.(2) Still further as there was a congregation by the name of New Dublin at this place as early as 1768, it is most likely they had a building before many years. And from the tradition of how the church

(1) Hist. Sk. New Dublin, Mebane; Hist. Sk, New Dublin, Gray.

(2) Historical Sketch, New Dublin, Gray.

got its name we would suppose that this was the building erected by Col Cloyd. This tradition is that in seeking aid from his neighbors to build the church, Col. Cloyd applied to two Irish brothers, who were keeping a store on the main thoroughfare leading westward from Inglis Ferry, and who promised a certain amount provided the church was called New Dublin.⁽¹⁾

The second house of worship was built of brick in 1832, and the present also of brick in 1875.⁽²⁾

Pastors.— The first pastor we know of was Rev. Samuel H. McNutt, 1816-29 (gave half of his time to Anchor of Hope). He was followed by Revs. John H. Wallace, S.S. 1829-32; George Painter, S.S. 1833-; Robert Glenn, S.S. 1835-; Thos. D. Hudson, S.S. 1854-5; Isaac N. Naff, S.S. 1862-6; Robert Gray, 1866-1872; John M. Kirkpatrick, S.S. 1873-9; Geo. H. Gilmer, S.S. 1880-82; F. P. Ramsay, S.S. and pastor 1883-5; B. W. Mebane 1885-9, etc.⁽³⁾ Rev. C. J. Walsh is their present pastor, and the membership is reported to be only 69.⁽⁴⁾ This small membership is to be attributed to the fact that New Dublin has sent out colonies on all sides, each becoming independent churches and a means of blessing in its place. The church itself still lives and grows—"There is that scattereth and still increaseth."⁽⁵⁾

4. Royal Oak.

The first settlers in this neighborhood were John and Arthur Campbell, brothers, 24 and 25 years old and their sister Margaret, 18. They settled on "the Royal Oak Survey," of 740 acres, so

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) Minutes Gen. Assembly, 1931, p. 186.

(5) Sketch of Abingdon Presby, McCluer, 30.

called from a large white oak tree that stood near the present town of Marion, about 1767. For two years "Margaret did not see a single white female face," then in 1769, her father, mother, nine or ten brothers and sisters, cousins and in-laws followed. Tradition says that Margaret exacted a promise from her brothers, before she agreed to come with them, to build a church when the land was ready, which was done in 1776. It is thought that Charles Cummings also organized the church in that year, 1776, out of a part of Ebbing Spring, which at first included the the families of Royal Oak. The people worshipped in this building until 1836, when a neat brick church was erected on the hill in Marion. Sometime between 1880-5, this building was sold, and the present one erected on a lot given by Mrs. Ellen F. Sheffy. (1)

This church is first mentioned on the Records of Hanover Presbytery for Oct. 18, 1770 where Cummings is asked to begin a tour "at Hall's meeting house, and go as far as the Royal Oak on Holstein, and to spend at least six weeks in the journey." The name occurs only twice more prior to 1800 asking for supplies. (2)

Mr. Cummings was very likely their pastor until his death in 1812, after which it was supplied by Revs. Steven Bovelie, John Rice Holt, Alexander Campbell, Alex. McEwen until 1836. Then, in their new house, it was under the care of James Gallaher, Robert Glenn, A.S. Morrison, and David Palmer until 1861. Revs. Clymer, McMahon, and Leftwick each had charge for short periods. Then Dr. Wm. V. Wilson 1865-73; W. H. Groves, -1880; D. E. Frienson, -1885. (3) The present Membership is 525, with Dr. G. A. Wilson, Jr., pastor. (4)

(1) Ibid. 19-20; Letter of Rev. G. A. Wilson, Jr. Oct. 16, 1931.

(2) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (3) MS. Sks. Abingdon Pr. McCluer, 19-20.

(4) Minutes Gen. Assembly, 1931, p. 186.

5. Rock Spring.

Rock Spring Church is at Lodi, on the Damascus-Glade Spring road, which is between the Middle and South Forks of the Holston River on territory long known as "The Forks." It was organized in 1784, a child no doubt of Ebbing Spring, as many of its members signed the original call to Mr. Cummings.(1)

It was most likely this church or the beginnings of it that we find twice receiving supplies from Hanover Presbytery-- Oct. 26, 1781, when Terah Tamplin was appointed three Sabbaths "at the Forks of Holstein;" and May 23, 1782, when John McCue was appointed two Sabbaths "in the Forks of Holstein." This latter is possibly Presbytery's answer to the petition of Rock Spring for supplies at the same meeting of Presbytery on May 21, 1782. This is the first mention of Rock Spring and the last mention of the "Forks of Holstein" in the early minutes.(2) Rock Spring occurs twice in the Records of Lexington Presbytery--Oct.26, 1790, and Sept.18,1792, both times asking for supplies.(3)

Their first minister we know of was Neddy Crawford, and the next Stephen Bovell, but of their coming, leaving and labors we have no records. Alex. McEwen took charge in 1825, remaining for several years, and was followed by Revs. Robert Glenn 1730-40; Robt.C.Graham,S.S. 1843-7; Thos.Brown, occasional supply 1847-53; Samuel Hodge, Probationer,S.S. 1853-5; W.W. Stickley, 1857-61; R.S.Rees, and Jas.Wilson each ministered some during the war; A.L.Hogshead, 1866-71; J.C.Carson, Pro-

(1) MS.History Abingdon Presbytery, McCluer.

(2) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (3)MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.

bationer, 1871-4; J.O.Sullivan 1875-80; etc.(1)

For a number of years there were two congregations and two houses of worship until Bethel church was set off by Presbytery from Rock Spring in 1881.(2) At present Rock Spring has 106 members with D.R.Greenhoe as pastor.(3)

6. Green Spring.

The organization of the Green Spring church, on the South Fork of the Holston near Abingdon, is thought to go back to 1783.(4) The first authentic record is its occurrence on the minutes of Lexington Presbytery petitioning for supplies Sept. 18, 1792.(5)

March 18, 1794 James Montgomery presents "the members of Green Spring congregation," providing they call "a regular Presbyterian minister of the Gospel adhering to the Westminster conception of Faith, Worship, and Discipline contained therein with a larger and shorter catechism,--two acres of land on the waters of Wolf Creek."(6)

In 1812 Rev. Stephen Bovelie was their minister, and had probably been among them for a number of years. He performed the marriage ceremony of Hugh Beery and Miss McSpaden April 6, 1797. He remained there until about 1830. Some of the ministers following him in the order of their service have been--Thos.Brown, A.B.Carrington, Henry Smith, A.L.Hogshead, B. Gildesleve, S.D.Stuart, J.AlbertWallace, Joshua Phipps, etc.(7) Dr.J.M.McChesney is their Present pastor,with 239 members.(8)

(1) Hist.Abingdon Pr.,McCluer,15-19. (2) Ibid. 18.
(3) Min.Gen.As.1931,p.185. (4) Hist.Sk.Abingdon Pr.,McCluer,21
(5) MS.Rec.Lexington Presby.(6)Annals S.W.Va.,Summers,1301.
(7)Hist.Sk.Abingdon Pr.,McCluer,21-2. (8)Min.Gen.As.1931,p.186.

7. Unity Congregation on Reed Creek.

This church supplicates for supplies Oct. 11, 1767, and the next spring Craig is appointed six Sabbaths with them. April 13, 1769, "Unity" is reported by John Craig as having 45 families and five representatives--James Harris, James Davis, James Hollis, Geo. Brockenridge, and Samuel Montgomery. April 25, 1770, "Supplications from Unity congregation on Reed Creek were given in for supplies." April 12, 1775, Cummings was appointed one Sabbath at the "head of Reed Creek." (1) Sept. 29, 1790, we find "a supplication from Reed Creek in With county requesting supplies, and ^{that} an ordained minister may be appointed to baptize their children and to assist them in the regulations of some congregational affairs." This was referred to the Committee of Synod. (2) The last record is for April 23, 1793, when they join with "New Dublin in Abingdon Presbytery" to present a call to John Lyle, which he declined. (3)

8. Blue Stone.

This name first occurs April 14, 1795, "A verbal petition from the inhabitants of Blue Stone requesting supplies and that Mr. Houston, in particular, or some other ordained minister might be sent to assist them in forming themselves into congregations and regulate their ecclesiastical affairs." Presbytery informed them that they would do what they could, though they could not comply with their request (perhaps because they were in another Presbytery). They petition for supplies again at the fall meet-

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) MS. Records Synod of Virginia.

(3) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.

ing. April 10, 1798, Daniel Blain is appointed three Sabbaths "at Blue Stone on the head of the Clinch." Oct. 16, 1798 they join with Freehold in calling Daniel Blain, but he declined. They continue on through May 9, 1799 receiving supplies from Lexington Presbytery.(1)

Other Churches.

There are several other churches or preaching places occurring on the records before 1800, that must have been located somewhere in what is now Abingdon Presbytery, though little or nothing more is known of them today. It is probable they either ceased to exist by emigration, or were amalgamated with a stronger organization dropping their old names. They will be given here in the order of their appearance on the records.

Boiling Spring.-- Three times, April 13, 1769, John Craig reports them with 42 Families and five Representatives.(2) Sept. 9, 1795 they join with New Dublin in an unsuccessful call to Adam Freeman. Oct. 17, 1798 "Boiling Spring on New River" joins with New Dublin in asking supplies.(1)

Denian.-- Twice, Apr. 13, 1769, when Craig reports them with 70 Families and five Representatives; and April 10, 1771 they ask for supplies.(2)

New Antrim.-- Once, April 13, 1769, when Craig reports them with 43 Families and five Representatives.(2)

Tinker Creek.-- Twice, Oct. 9, 1771, and May 20, 1783, both times united in a call with Sinking Spring Church.(2)

(1) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.

(2) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

Rich Creek.-- Three Times, Oct. 14, 1773, Irvin appointed two Sabbaths "at Woods Plain on Rich Creek, N.R." Oct. 29, 1777 verbal supplication, and Oct. 25, 1782, McClure appointed one Sabbath.(1)

Wood's Plain.-- Twice, Oct. 14, 1773 (see Rich Creek), and April 12, 1775, Irvin appointed two Sabbaths.(1)

Sinking Spring.-- May 1, 1776, Graham appointed one Sabbath.(1)

The Knobs.-- May 1, 1776, "Weavers Knobs" ask supplies and Graham appointed to visit them; May 21, 1782, Supplications from "both sides of the great Knobs in Washington County," and John McCue appointed two Sabbaths; and the last record, May 18, 1784, when Rankin is appointed two Sabbaths.(1)

New River.-- April 29, 1778, Samuel Doak appointed two Sabbaths.⁽¹⁾

Spreading Spring.-- Oct. 27, 1778, when they united in a call with Sinking Spring for Edward Crawford, which he accepted.(1) June 24, 1782 Robt. Harris and his wife granted to Edward Crawford, Rev. Caleb Worley, James Love, Valentine Martin, and their successors in office as Trustees of Spreading Spring Presbyterian congregation one and one-half acres and five poles in Botetourt county for erecting a meeting-house.(2)

Crab Orchard.-- Oct. 26, 1780, "Crab Orchard on the head of the Holstein River" presented a call to Ebenezer Brooks.(1)

Fort Chisel.-- Oct. 25, 1782, Houston appointed to supply.(1)

French Broad.-- Twice, Sept. 14, 1784, verbal petitions for supplies;(1) and Oct. 26, 1790, Scott appointed to supply.(3)

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) Annals Southwest Virginia, Summers, 569.

(3) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.

Upper Holstein.-- Twice, May 18, 1785,(1), and Sept. 21, 1796,(2) Asking for supplies.

Boyd's Creek, Little River, and Nine Miles Creek.-- All in Abingdon Presbytery. Oct. 26, 1790, Archd.Scott appointed to supply.(2)

Eusebia.-- Sept. 18, 1792, Asking supplies, (2)

Wythe Court House.-- June 10, 1793, Freedman appointed to supply in Wythe county; and May 9, 1799, Chipley appointed one Sabbath at "Wythe Court House."(2)

Cripple Creek.-- Apr.19,1796, Davis appointed one Sabbath.(2)

Pine Grove.-- In upper Holstein, Sept. 21, 1796, Petition for supplies.(2)

Capt. Walkers on the head of the Clinch.-- April 21, 1797, John Lyle appointed one Sabbath.(2)

Freehold.-- Oct. 16, 1798, joins with Bluestone in calling Daniel Blain but he declines.(2)

Abingdon Presbytery now reports sixty churches and thirty-nine ministers.(3)

(1) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(2) MS. Records Lexington Presbytery.

(3) Minutes General Assembly, 1931, p. 187.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XXI

THE ASSOCIATE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

This church as its name indicates was formed by the union of the Associate and the Reformed Presbyterian Churches. Both of these bodies came into existence by protesting against corruptions in the Established Church of Scotland.

Associate.— There were three contributing factors in the Secession which resulted in the Associate Presbytery-- 1. The Episcopal form of government had been forced upon the Church of Scotland by the Scottish Parliament in 1661, and continued until the accession of William of Orange in 1688. At this time Presbyterianism was restored, but some bishops and clergy continued to exercise their Episcopal functions in the Presbyterian Church. 2. While the prevailing party in the Church of Scotland were in harmony with the Westminster Confession, some subscribed to it as a matter of policy with the tacit understanding that no one would be disturbed in his doctrinal beliefs. 3. Under the law of patronage adopted in Scotland in 1711 pastors were sometimes forced upon unwilling congregations. Ebenezer Erskine and three others protested against these abuses and were rebuked by the General Assembly. Refusing to submit, they were deposed; and soon after at Gairney Bridge,

Dec. 6, 1733, organized themselves into the Associate Presbytery. This new organization grew rapidly, spreading to North Ireland, and thence to America, where in 1753 the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania was organized.(1)

Reformed.— When Charles II, after the Restoration imposed prelacy upon Scotland a large party in the Scotch Church true to the covenants in which they had sworn to extirpate prelacy and other evils, refused to conform. From this they were called Covenanters, and later "Cameronians" from their leader Richard Cameron. By persecution the staunchest of these were driven in 1679 to armed resistance. Defeated and outlawed, they suffered fierce persecution until the accession of William of Orange. By him Presbyterianism was re-established in Scotland. But on account of the royal supremacy, the refusal to recognize the covenants, and the inclusion of the prelatists, some of the Covenanters refused to return to the Established Church. Of these the Reformed Presbytery was organized in Scotland in 1743. Some of these came to America in the early part of the century, and finally in 1774 a Reformed Presbytery was organized near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.(2)

Union.— Causes which kept these two bodies apart in the old country lost their meaning in America. Accordingly negotiations for union were opened in 1777 which resulted in the organisation of the Associate Reformed Synod in Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1782. The Westminster standards were adopted for the Confession of their faith. At this time there were few more than fifty

(1) Hist. Old Providence, Rowan, 7-8; Centennial History A.R.P., 1-2. (2) Centennial History A.R.P., 1-2.

societies south of the James River.(1)

Synod of the South.-- In 1803 the Associate Reformed Presby-Synod of the South was organized. Today it is composed of ten Presbyteries. One of these, in which we are most interested here, is the Virginia Presbytery. It was organized at Ebenezer Church, Rockbridge County, May 8, 1854, and is composed of the following churches: Old Providence, Augusta county; Timber Ridge, Ebenezer, and Broad Creek, Rockbridge county; and New Lebanon, Monroe county, W. Va.(2)

The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church has been said to be "like a clean pure fountain." From the earliest days going back to 1773 it has been clean and pure, free from all taint of heresy in doctrine or church order. "It has always been a small denomination, but like a precious flower hidden away in a quiet place it has perfumed the air far and wide and has helped all Presbyterian bodies to a higher life."(3)

At present there are six congregations in Virginia, having a total of 1,218 members.(4)

Following will be given a brief sketch of the old churches dating their origin back to the eighteenth century:

1. Old Providence

This church is located about a mile west of Spottswood, in the southern edge of Augusta county, and served the northern part of the old Borden Grant. The earliest settlers came in the latter part of the thirties and the first part of the

(1) Ibid. 2. (2) Ibid. 12-40; Hist. Old Providence, Rowan, 16.

(3) Ibid.-- Rowan, 15.

(4) Letter of Rev. J. L. Grier, Oct. 23, 1931.

forties, among whom we find such names as Moore, Steele, McClung, Fulton, and Beard settling near South Mountain; Houston, Montgomery, Aitkin, McChesney, Hall, and McCormick nearer Old Providence church; and Logan, Patton, Wilson, Lusk, Carson, Rowan, McNutt, Cooper, Kennedy, McCutchen, Rhea and others towards North Mountain.(1)

We do not know when the first church was built or the date of its organization, but from the custom of the Presbyterian settlers we would infer that it followed closely upon the settlement. The Augusta County Order Book, 1745-8, makes frequent mention of one, thus: "Petition for road to Providence Meeting House," "Old Providence Church, a central point," "Old Providence Church Head Waters," and "Old Providence Secession Meeting House." This would seem to show that on or prior to 1745 the building was erected and the church organized.(2)

According to the best information available it would seem that New Providence congregation worshipped in the same building for several years, and in 1747 or 1748 withdrew to build at a more central point for the accomodation of their members on Hay's and Walker's Creeks.(3)

A stone building was erected in 1793 which may have been the third house of worship. The deed to the land was made to trustees James McChesney, George Campbell and others by Patrick Hall, grandfather of the inventor Cyrus Hall McCormick. It is still standing and used now as a community building. The pres-

(1) Old Providence Ch., Rowan, 5; New Providence Ch., Junkin, 4-5; Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 58.

(2) Old Providence Ch., Rowan, 6.

(3) Ibid. Also See New Providence Church, Junkin, 6.

ent brick structure was completed in 1859.(1)

Elders.-- Among the oldest Elders were James McClung, Hugh Brownlee, Samuel Carson, Elijah Carson, James Rowan, Robert McCormick, Robert Harris, John Harris, John McCutcheon, and James McChesney.(2)

Ministers.-- Very early after the organization of the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania in 1753, many of this section petitioned for supplies.(3) Revs. Wm. Marshall and James Martin visited Old Providence in 1775 and 1776; Revs. John Murray in the winter and Andrew Patton in the Summer of 1777; Revs. John Smith, August 1778, and James Clarkson, summer 1780.(4)

In 1782 Dr. John Rodgers became pastor of Old Providence and Timber Ridge, and continued until 1790. He was a physician as well as a minister and practiced medicine on Timber Ridge until his death in 1812. In 1803 he donated fifty-five volumes of Calvinistic Theology in Latin to Washington College, the first gift of books in the seventy years of the school's existence.(5)

He was followed by Revs. ~~John~~^{from 1792} Young who served until 1799; Wm. Adair 1807-9; James Brown, S.S. 1820-22; Horatio Thompson 1828-82; S.W. Haddon 1881 (assistant first year)--about 1913; L.I. Echols --1922; J.L. Grier 1923-1931.(6)

In 1803 Old Providence had 158 members- now it has 413.(7)

(1) Old Providence Ch., Rowan, 22; Cent. History Assoc. R.P., 540.

(2) Centennial History Associate Ref. Presbyterian Ch., 539.

(3) Tinkling Spring Presbyterian Church in Augusta County, applies to them Oct. 12, 1762, and Oct. 10, 1780, "Craving supply and the ordination of elders--Old Providence Ch., Rowan, 9.

(4) Cent. History A.R.P., 538. (5) Old Providence Ch., Rowan, 9.

(6) Ibid. 9-11. (7) Centennial Hist. A.R.P., 539; Letter of J.L. Grier, Oct. 23, 1931.

2. Timber Ridge.

Timber Ridge A.R.P. Church is just across the road from the Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church, about seven miles north of Lexington.

Tradition says that Joseph Little and Wm. McClung, joining lands, each gave a lot near Timber Ridge station, on which a log church was erected, and the A.R.P. congregation organized between 1773 (the year Joseph Little arrived from Ireland) and 1778.(1) The present beautiful brick church was erected and dedicated May 1857.(2)

Elders.— Some of the first Elders were Wm. McClung, John McCulloch, James Young, John Finley, John McBride, James Dickson, John Murphy, and Robert Cooper.(3)

They petitioned the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania, Oct. 21, 1778, for ordination of elders and moderation of a call. Rev. Wm. Logan was instructed to preach December 1778, and ordain Elders, with the assistance of Wm. Finley, John and Sam Agnew, Ruling Elders. May 26, 1779 they petitioned for the celebration of the Sacrament, and Ref. Jas. Proudfoot was directed to administer the Lord's Supper, October 1779, and moderate a call. Rev. James Clarkson was sent October 1780. They continued to petition, but as the war was raging, the Presbytery wrote a letter of encouragement and sympathy. John McCulloch, commissioner from Timber Ridge, appeared before Presbytery, Oct. 31, 1781, at Piqua, Pa., and insisted on supply and moderation of a call. Supplies were promised next spring, and dili-

(1) Centennial History A.R.P., 592.

(2) Ibid. 593.

(3) Ibid. 592. Also see below.

gent inquiry was made as to Timber Ridge's and Old Providence's ability to support a minister, with this result, "That the support proposed, if punctually paid, might be a sufficient salary." (1) This resulted in John Rogers becoming their pastor in 1782, which continued until 1790. He was followed by Revs. John Young, 1792-1799; James Harper, 1800; Wm Baldridge, S.S. 1803-9; Andrew Heron, 1815-32; H. Thompson, 1833-82; S.W. Haddon, 1881-92; etc. (2) Rev. W.M. Ford is their present pastor and their membership is 223. (3)

3. Ebenezer.

Ebenezer Church is three miles west of Lexington, and dates its origin back to 1790. The first deed of one acre costing eighty-three and one-third cents, was made by Andrew Kinnear to Isaac Lawson, James Harper and Lawrence Mealy, Trustees for House Mountain Meeting House, April 5, 1796. (4)

The first log meeting house was built about this time, 1796. Being in a bad state of repair in 1815 the Old Monmouth Presbyterian church was used for about ten years. About 1825 a brick church was built, and the name Ebenezer given it. The present church was dedicated Aug. 21, 1902. (5)

Rev. John Cree, of Ferty Scotland, became pastor here in 1796, and remained till 1803. Other pastors: Dr. Andrew Heron, 1815-32; Dr. H. Thompson, 1834-48; Rev. W.M. McElwee, 1848-68; Rev. J.L. Hemphill, 1868-77; etc. (6) The present pastor is Rev. J.H. Snell, and they have 130 members. (3)

(1) Ibid. 591.

(2) Ibid. 592-3.

(3) Letter of J.L. Grier, Oct. 23, 1931.

(4) Centennial History A.R.P. Church, 467.

(5) Ibid. 467-9.

(6) Ibid.

4. Botetourt, and Forks of the James. (Broad Creek)

Forks of the James was situated about one and a half miles northeast of Natural Bridge, and Botetourt just across the James River in Botetourt County. Forks of the James Church was built possibly during the Revolutionary War, constructed from hewn logs with twelve corners. Rev. Wm. Baldrige became the pastor of these two churches in 1793. They seem to have been prosperous and thronged with worshippers, particularly Forks of James, till about 1800 when a tide of emigration set in and practically all of both churches emigrated to the fertile lands of Ohio. The pastor resigned in 1803, and continued as stated supply in connection with Timber Ridge till 1809 when he followed them to Ohio. Botetourt seems to have completely expired upon his removal. (1)

The remnant of the Forks of the James lived on occasional supplies and reappeared in Broad Creek church, about ten miles south of Lexington, organized in 1824 with 28 members. About 1849, the present brick church was completed, and Dr. W.M. McElwee was ordained and installed pastor July 26, 1850. He resigned in 1860, and for two years they were supplied by Presbyterian ministers--Ewing, Hart, Junkin, and Bittenger. Then Revs. John Hemphill served them 1868-77; W.A. Wilson, 1877-8, etc. (2) Rev. W.M. Willis is their present pastor and they have 159 members. (3)

There are at present two other churches in Virginia, Lexington with 240 members, and Spring Valley with 53 members. (4)

(1) Ibid, 427, 475.

(2) Ibid. 433-4.

(3) Letter of J.L. Grier, Oct. 23, 1931. (4) Ibid.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XXII THE GREAT AWAKENING

Some knowledge of the eighteenth century Revival known as "The Great Awakening" will enable us to understand better the ecclesiastical history of our own denomination. Therefore a brief sketch is attempted here with especial regard to the influence it exerted on Presbyterianism in Virginia.

Religion at a Low Ebb.— Religious conditions had sunk to a lamentable condition in the first half of the eighteenth century among all sects including the Presbyterians. Though there were some sincerely pious in whose life the salt had not lost its savor, there was a general ignorance of evangelical doctrines and vital experimental religion. There was much complaint about the want of fidelity and zeal in preaching the Gospel.(1)

The Congregationalists through the Half-way Covenant, permitting morally respectable but unconverted persons to become members of the church, opened the doors to laxity and worldiness. Among the Anglicans, indifference, coldness, formality, and lack of spirituality characterized both laity and clergy. Religious destitution was also great among the Lutheran and Dutch Reformed

(1) Const.Hist.Presbyn.Church, Hodge,II,15-17.

churches. The Presbyterians, though orthodox in doctrine, had grown somewhat sluggish in regard to vital religion. In a word, prior to the Great Awakening the evangelical doctrines were obscured by externals, and religion had become a matter of dead formality in most churches everywhere throughout the colonies.(1) As early as 1678, Dr. Increase Mather says:(2)

"The body of the rising generation is poor, perishing, unconverted, and (unless the Lord pour down his Spirit) an undone generation. Many are profane, drunkards, swearers, lascivious, scoffers at the power of Godliness, despisers of those that are good, disobedient. Others are only civil and outwardly conformed to good order by reason of their education, but never knew what the new birth means."

This condition was true not only in America, but practically throughout the whole of Christendom.(3)

1. The Beginnings of Revival.

World Revival.— But God keeps in touch with affairs, and, as in other cases, so here he raised up men able to revive his people. During the eighteenth century a great evangelical revival, international and interdenominational in its scope, swept people in all parts of Christendom back into the fold. In Germany it was called Pietism, led by Spener and Francke. In the British Isles it was called the Methodist Revival of the Wesleys and Whitefield. In America it was called "The Great Awakening," and its tidal wave of religious fervor swept over the colonies from New England through Virginia to Georgia. Finding churches dying under the burden of cold formalism, it left them reinvigorated and glowing with a fresh spiritual zeal.(4)

(1) Ibid. 19; The Gt.Awk.in the Middle Colonies, Maxson, Ch.I; The Gt.Awk.in Va., Gewehr, 3-4.

(2) Prince's Christian History, I, 98, Given in Const. Hist. Presbyn.Ch., Hodge, II, 20. (3) Ibid. 21-24.

(4) The Gt.Awak. in the Middle Colonies, Maxson, 1-10.

Theodorus Frelinghuysen.-- The movement in America began by the preaching of Theodorus Frelinghuysen, a German who had come under the Pietistic influences in the fatherland. Landing in New York in January, 1720, he became the apostle of revivalism in the Dutch Reformed Church in the Raritan Valley of New Jersey. By 1726, his earnestness and passion in preaching had not only gripped the Dutch churches of the Raritan section, but was spreading to the newly organized Presbyterian churches in the valley.(1)

The Tennents.-- Gilbert Tennent, who was ordained at New Brunswick in the fall of 1726, caught something of the spirit of Frelinghuysen's evangelical zeal, and the earliest beginnings of the Great Awakening among Presbyterians were evidenced at New Brunswick under the preaching of Gilbert Tennent in 1727. This was further evidenced at Elizabethtown under the preaching of Jonathan Dickinson, and at Freehold, N.J., under the ministry of John Tennent, a brother of Gilbert's, who began his ministry there in 1730 and preached with great power and emotion, frequently moving his hearers to tears, and before his death in April 1732, there had been many conversions. The work went on with even greater results under the ministry of another brother, William, after John's death.(2)

Edward's Revival in Northampton.-- In 1734 the Awakening was given a fresh impetus by the outbreak of Jonathan Edward's revival in Northampton, Mass., where the entire community came

(1) Ibid. 11-20; Const.Hist.Presbyn.Ch.,Hodge,II,33; The Great Awakening in Va., Gewehr, 4.

(2) Ibid. Maxson, 21-39; and Gewehr, 5; Also See A Hist. of the Presbyn.Ch. U.S.,Thompson, 30-31.

under the spell of his preaching. People became deeply concerned about eternal things, coming in great throngs to hear him, meeting in private houses day and night to talk religion and to pray for pardon. In six months more than three hundred, or practically the entire population above sixteen years, were converted in Northampton. This revival spread from community to community until one hundred and fifty communities in Massachusetts and Connecticut were visited with similar scenes to those which took place in Northampton.(1)

Whitefield.-- Upon the arrival of Whitefield in the fall of 1739, the revival was subsiding and a reaction setting in. Whitefield was just the man to restore and unify the work, and he preached with remarkable success in the Middle and Southern Colonies including Virginia in 1739-40. Everywhere he supplemented and augmented the work with his wonderful eloquence. Among the revivalists, his influence alone touched every section of the country, and every denomination. He literally preached to thousands and thousands as he passed from place to place. He was the one preacher to whom people everywhere listened--the great unifying influence in the Awakening, the great moulding force among the denominations.(2)

2. The Schism of the Presbyterian Church.

Schisms.-- An outstanding feature of this Awakening was the schisms and controversies that accompanied it. "Strict" Congregational Churches appeared in New England; the Baptists split

(1) The Gt. Awkng., Gewehr, 5-6; The Gt. Awkng., Tracy, 1ff.; Const. History of the Presbyn. Church, Hodge, II, 48-50.

(2) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 7-9.

into Regular and Separate; the revivalist wing of the Anglican Church became Methodists; and the Presbyterians split into the Old and New Sides which lasted from 1741-1758.(1) It is with this latter schism that we shall be mainly interested here, for it was the New Side Presbyterian missionaries who followed up the trail of Whitefield and whose word constituted the first phase of the Awakening in Virginia.(2)

Old and New Side Parties.- For some years differences in the Synod of Philadelphia had been growing more pronounced. One element was desirous of rigidly adhering to all the rigors of the Scottish Presbyterian system. They attached much importance to academic Learning and were opposed to too close and examination of candidates for the ministry on personal piety and experimental religion. The other faction, later called "The New Side", while they believed thoroughly in an educated ministry, did not set so high a value on human learning, providing the candidate satisfactorily met their requirement in personal piety. They placed much emphasis on the matter of conversion and one's religious experience. They were the evangelical wing of the Synod. The outstanding men in it were the Tennents, the Blairs, Samuel Finley, and others in sympathy with the Log College principles, who had received their training there.(3)

The Old Side party regarded some from the Log College who had been examined and licensed by the Presbyteries as "without

(1) Ibid. 9; The Great Awakening in the Middle Col., Maxson, 69-79.

(2) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 9.

(3) Ibid. 9-10; The Gt. Awk. in the Middle Colonies, Maxson, 69-79; The Great Awakening, Tracy, 60-75.

sufficient qualifications,"(1) and in 1738 the Synod adopted a proposal which was considered a direct blow at the Log College by the friends of that institution. This required every student who had not finished his College work in an approved New England or European College, to "apply himself to this Synod," who would appoint a Committee to examine and pass upon his accomplishments.(2) The New Brunswick Presbytery which included most of the friends of the Log College ignored the rule of 1738 from the very start, and proceeded to ordain several who were refused seats in Synod.(3) About this time Whitefield came to America, and when the Great revival broke out afresh under his ministry the Old Side condemned the work as "mere wildfire and enthusiasm," while the New Side, or "New Lights" as they were also called, warmly embraced his doctrines and became enthusiastic supporters.

Tennent's Nottingham Sermon.- In the Synod of 1740, Tennent and Blair presented papers which drew a black picture of the character of the ministry as a body, and, when challenged to substantiate their charges, they had to admit that they had not investigated the reports they accepted, nor had they spoken privately, as Christ requires, to their alleged offenders. At last by a famous sermon preached March 8, 1740, at Nottingham, Pa., on "an Unconverted Ministry," Gilbert Tennent brought matters to a head. It was such a public indictment of those who had stood aloof from the Awakening, that, even without

(1) Records Presbyn.Church., May 31, 1746.

(2) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 14. (3) Ibid. 15.

mentioning any names, it seemed to be meant to make it impossible for the ministers described to remain in synodical communion with him and his friends.(1)

The Old Side Protest.— In the Old Side Protest, read in the Synod of 1741, the New Side was charged with violating presbyterial practices, entertaining heterodox principles contrary to the Westminster Confession, and "preaching the terrors of the law in such a manner, and dialect as **has** no precedent in the Word of God...and so industriously working on the passions and affections of weak minds, as to cause them to cry out in a hideous manner, and fall down in convulsion-like fits, to the marring of the profiting both of themselves and others, who are so taken up in seeing and hearing these odd symptoms, that they cannot attend to or hear what the preacher says; and then, after all, boasting of these things as the work of God, which we are persuaded do proceed from an inferior or or worse cause."(2) The New Lights, on the other hand, maintained the reality of the religious experience of all true converts. Thus they were preaching the Gospel of the Great Awakening, and were regarded by the Old Side "as a set of extravagant and ignorant enthusiasts," while the New Lights considered them "as a set of pharasaical formalists." After the deliverance of the Old Side Protest, which virtually denied them their seats, the New Brunswick party withdrew.(3) The Schism was completed in 1745 when the Presbyteries of New York, New Brunswick, and New Castle united to form the Synod of New York.

(1) Hist. Presbyn Church in U.S., Thompson, 32.

(2) Records of the Presbyn. Church, June 1, 1741. (3) Ibid.

Union.- This division lasted until 1758, when, after nine years of negotiations, the two Synods were united under the name of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia.(1) Undoubtedly both sides were at fault in bringing on the schism, as some of the leaders were frank enough to acknowledge when union was restored. "The Old Side were wrong in opposing the revival of religion under Whitefield and his friends, and in contending against examinations on personal piety; while the New Side were wrong in violating Presbyterian order, in undervaluing literary qualifications for the ministry, and in giving countenance to some real extravagances which attended the the revival of religion."(2)

New Side Missionary Zeal.- "If it can be said that the Great Awakening produced many extravagances and manifestations which were mistaken for true religion, and the results of which soon wore off, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that it kindled religious zeal and active missionary work which changed the complexion of the religious life of the colonies. In the Presbyterian Church it was the New Side that represented this movement, and it was their evangelistic activities that made Presbyterianism a dynamic force in Virginia."(3)

Schism Felt in Virginia.- As both Old and New Side missionaries visited Virginia, the echo of the schism was felt there. John Thompson, and Old Side member of the Synod of Philadelphia visited eastern Virginia, and was not given a very cordial welcome because of his doctrines, and warnings against the dangers

(1) Records of the Presbyn.Church, May 22, 1758.

(2) Life of Rodgers, Miller; The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 18

(3) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 18.

of the new notions in religion. While over in the Valley John Craig's adherence to the Old Side gave offence to some of his congregation, who he says, "looked upon me as an opposer of the work of God." (1)

"In the Valley and western counties it was the Old Side wing of the church that gained the first foot-hold and settled the first pastors, but the New Light missionaries carried the spark of the revival into those regions also. Just before the coming of Davies to Hanover, in fact, a considerable awakening occurred in Augusta and Frederick counties under the preaching of William Dean, a graduate of the Log College, and Eliab Byram, who belonged to the new side Presbytery of New York. However, it was in Hanover and adjacent counties that the New Side accomplished its great work, and when Davies came in 1747, it had no settled pastor in the colony. On the other hand, four ministers were established in western Virginia under the care of the Old Side Synod of Philadelphia." (2)

3. Synod of New York Missionary Activities.

Purity of Revival in Virginia.— In no part of our country was the revival more interesting, and in very few was it so pure as in Virginia. Some of the objectionable features that were present in the North, including bodily agitations, were not known in Virginia. The state of religion in eastern Virginia was very deplorable in the middle of the eighteenth century. The upper classes were indifferent if not sceptical;

(1) Ibid. 65. (2) Ibid. 66-7; Also See Const. History of the Presbyn. Church, Hodge, II, 256-260; 282-292.

and the middle and lower classes unchurched and ignorant in the very first principles of Christianity, and consequently irreligious, because the Established clergy failed to serve them.(1) To this section of Virginia as well as the Scotch-Irish section in the Valley, the New Side Synod of New York sent her missionaries preaching the Gospel and establishing Churches wherever a group of Presbyterians could be located. Others were attracted by their preaching, and so the Great Awakening spread. Whitefield made several visits to Virginia, preaching in the Established as well as the Dissenting churches, firing the people with religious fervor.(2)

Revival in Hanover.— After the spontaneous beginning of Presbyterianism in Hanover it became the center of the Great Awakening in the South, and was "the cradle of Presbyterianism" in eastern Virginia. From it emanated the first dissenting movement which seriously impaired the supremacy of the Established Church.(3) The coming of Davies greatly accelerated the movement in Hanover, and the dissenters there were strong enough in 1755 to organize the Presbytery of Hanover, which in 1758 was united with the Old Side in the Valley. In the seventh decade the Awakening began to express itself in the establishing of Colleges--Liberty Hall Academy, now Washington and Lee University and Hampden-Sydney.(4)

4. Revival of 1788.

War Brings Irreligion.— "The demoralizing effects of the

(1) The Gt.Awk.inVa., Gewehr, 65; Hist.Presbn.Ch., Hodge, II, 42-3.

(2) Ibid.—Gewehr, 52. (3) Ibid.

(4) See Next Chapter on "Presbyterian Education."

(Revolutionary) war," says Dr. Wm. Hill, "left religion and the church in a most deplorable condition. The Sabbath had been almost forgotten, and the public morals sadly deteriorated. A cold and lukewarm indifference was manifest in all the ministrations of the gospel throughout all that region of country, without exception, as far as known." The state of things in Hampden Sydney during the year 1787 was peculiarly interesting. Some students from pious homes treated religion respectfully, but the majority "were generally very vicious and profane, and treated religion and religious persons with great contempt and ridicule." "There was not one who was known to be any way serious and thoughtful upon the subject of religion." (1)

Revival in Briery and Cumberland.— After some difficulties in getting the men to pray before others, early in 1787 Mr. Smith succeeded in getting the Elders of his two churches, Briery and Cumberland, to meet together regularly and pray for a special outpouring of the Spirit. This meeting soon became very popular and was divided into "praying circles" held in different parts of the congregation. This Prayer along with Smith's enthusiastic preaching began to awaken sinners and arouse lukewarm Christians to the presence of the Spirit. (2)

Allen's Conversion.— During the College vacation Cary Allen and Wm. Hill visited their relations who had experienced the work of Grace in Cumberland Congregation, and resulted in the

(1) Given in Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 412. (2) Ibid. 414.

immediate conversion of Allen. When he returned to College, President Smith, fearing it was all a delusion, put him through rigid examinations, but his faith proved to be true. He "was the first student who made any public pretensions to religion in the College.(1)

Conversion of Hill and Blythe.— Wm. Hill, perhaps impressed by the revival in Cumberland Church and Allen's conversion, began to be anxious about his soul. He would weep and pray, keeping it a secret from his fellows. He had no Bible, but borrowed one from the Steward, promising to return it before night. He went to the thick woods and read the Gospel of Matthew. Later a friend loaned him "Alleine's Alarm to the Unconverted," a "rusty black covered book probably little less than a hundred years old." He did not want his fellow students to see him with this old rusty book, and kept it locked up in his trunk until the week end when his room-mates all went home. Then he locked himself up in his room and spent the whole day reading this book with sighs and tears missing his dinner. He remained silent during repeated raps at his door, but at length a violent thumping on the door induced him to see who was there. In walked James Blythe, a full grown student from North Carolina, and, seeing the old book lying on the bed, said, with much emotion, "why Hill, have you been reading such a book as this?" Hill was tempted to turn the matter into ridicule, but gathered enough courage to say, "Yes, Blythe, and I must confess I have neglected the subject too long." This resulted in

(1) Ibid.

the conversion of both, and, with tears in their eyes, they confessed their faith to each other.(1)

Revival In Hampden-Sydney.-- These three students--Allen, Hill, and Blythe, were joined by a fourth, Clement Read, who had come under conviction. These four agreed to meet every Saturday afternoon for prayer. The first Saturday they went into the woods where they sang hymns, read the Bible and prayed in turns. The next Saturday they met in a room in the College. Though they suppressed their singing, they were heard, and a noisy mob was raised among the students, which broke up their meeting. That evening, after prayers, President Smith inquired the cause of the riot, and when he had learned all the facts, his eyes filled with tears, as he said, "Is it possible! some of my students are under religious impressions! and determined to serve their Saviour! And is it possible that there are such monsters of iniquity, such sons of Belial in College, who dare set themselves against such things! who will neither serve God themselves, nor suffer others to do so!" Then he invited the four young men to hold their next meeting for prayer in his parlor. The next Saturday a large company of students and near neighbors came out, and Dr. Smith led the devotions. The next meeting had to be appointed in the large College Hall. The whole college was shaken, and many believed.(2)

Spread of Revival.-- From Smith's Churches and the College, the revival flowed in many directions. James Mitchell, a minister in Bedford, came to see and hear, and through his agency

(1) Ibid. 414-16; Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 176.

(2) Ibid.-- Foote, 417-8; and White, 177.

the revival was borne into Bedford and Campbell counties. Henry Patillo, James McGrady and others scattered the blessed influences in North Carolina. Many others came to witness these wonders of God, and returned, carrying the revival back to their neighborhoods. Among them was Rev. Wm. Graham, President of Liberty Hall Academy, who, with about thirty young people attended a Communion Season at Briery Church. Graham's heart caught the fire, and after the communion service, he preached from Isa. 40:1,2 with such effect that his sermon, though unwritten and unwritable, was talked of as long as the generation that heard it lived. Legrand accompanied them back to the Valley, where both he and Graham spoke the message with such great fervor, accompanied with appeals that moved men and women to tears, and multitudes were added daily to the churches.⁽¹⁾ Both Hampden-Sydney and Liberty Hall, as well as all the Churches that had received a spark from these burning coals, were left throbbing with a new Zeal for their missions, and the beginning of a new epoch was marked in their history.

5. Benefits of the Great Awakening.

Interest in Religion.— The influence of the Great Awakening brought men to approve of the doctrines of the Gospel, to delight in the law of God, to endeavor to do His will, to love their fellowmen. The formal became spiritual; the proud humble; the wanton and vile, sober and temperate; the profane to bless instead of curse; the worldly, heavenly minded; the extortioner, just; the malicious, forgiving, the prayerless,

(1) Ibid.— Foote, 419-421; and White, 177-179.

devotional; and "the sneaking self-seeker," anxious to advance the Glory of God.(1) Throughout all Virginia, a new spirit of toleration thrilled every nerve. New church buildings were erected. Many young men entered the ministry. Religious books multiplied, and large funds were brought from their hiding places and put in the Lord's Treasury.(2)

Humanitarian Influences.-- The Great Awakening also brought about humanitarian influences favoring the black slaves. The evangelical churches opened the doors wide to the slaves and counted many hundreds of them among their members. Here we see the first efforts towards their emancipation which was not to be for a century later.(3)

Breaking up of Class Distinctions and Evil Pastimes.-- Another phase of the Great Awakening was the breaking up of the old class lines and social distinctions between the gentle and plain people. It also brought a great change in social attitudes. Pastimes and customs that were universal in the colony were now frowned upon. Swearing, quarrelling, superfluity in dress and apparel, intemperance, gambling with cards, dice, and horse-races, began to receive the censure of Public Opinion. While private worship in reading and praying, personal piety, and strict observance of the Sabbath, became more common. The stigma of these unfashionable practices of the New Lights wore off and Virginia became evangelical. The aristocratic Northern Neck became willing to listen to the Gospel preached by the

(1) Historical Collections, Gillies, II, 33-34; See Const. Hist. Presbyterian Church, Hodge, II, 48-122.

(2) Short Hist of the Church in U.S., Hurst, 48.

(3) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 235-250.

black slaves.(1)

Summary.- "Thus were new values created by the Great Awakening and a new attitude towards life developed. If popularity brought with it a relaxation in discipline and if, with the development of broader spirit of toleration, some of the early plainness and simplicity wore off, still Virginia never returned to the old modes of the mid-eighteenth century. The religious life of her people continued to be dominated by the popular churches, whose rise to position of influence came with the Great Awakening."(2)

"Although the Great Awakening was primarily a revival of personal religion, from it sprang many forces which made for the betterment of society. In its effects upon the individual it was democratic, and it applied this principle to all relations of life--religious, political, and social. The rise of democracy was preceded and foreshadowed by the rise of religious dissent, which did much to crystallize the ideas and forces back of the American Revolution. The appeal of the principles of the Awakening, reinforced by the ideas of the Revolution brought complete religious liberty to Virginia."(3)

To the Presbyterian Church in Virginia particularly, the Great Awakening, through the soundness of doctrines taught and religious experience accompanying, was the commencement of a new life, the vigor and stamina of which are still evident.

(1) Ibid. 251-261. (2) Ibid. 262. (3) Ibid.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XXIII

PRESBYTERIAN EDUCATION

The Presbyterian church has always been noted for its high standards of learning, and, as we would expect, it was the Presbyterian church that took the lead in Virginia in founding and cherishing schools and colleges.

High Standards.— The Presbyterian Ministers coming to America in the very beginning brought with them traditions of a liberal education. And despite the early lack of preachers they never lowered their educational standards, save, perhaps in a few exceptional cases. These standards required candidates for the ministry to undergo various trials consisting of an exegesis in Latin on some assigned subject; examination in various branches of learning, usually including Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, physics and astronomy, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, and theology; and the delivery of trial sermons and lectures. It was generally several years after a candidate was received on trials before he could be admitted to licensure, and then sometimes several years longer before he could be ordained.(1) The result was a group of exceptionally fine men--scholars, as well as spiritual leaders.

(1) See MS. Records of Hanover, Lexington and Winchester Presbyteries, and also Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 351-3, 410, 491-2.

It soon became evident to the Virginians that it was too impractical and expensive for students to attend distant schools, and individual ministers began to teach classics in their homes. This still proving to be inadequate, the Presbytery began to look forward to the establishing of "Seminaries of Learning."

Efforts for Public Schools.— Presbyterians also showed great interest in the education of children. There being no public schools in these early days, the education of the children depended to a large extent upon the parents, who were not always as solicitous for their education as they might have been.

In a minute of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia for May 23, 1785, to which the Presbytery of Hanover was attached at this time, besides stressing the importance of the catechism of youth "in just principles of religion, as one of the most useful means of promoting the influence of the gospel," we find one of the first endeavors towards public school education in America: (1)

"Resolved that it be enjoined on all our congregations to pay special regard to the good enunciation of children, as being intimately connected with the interests of morality and religion; and that, as schools under bad masters, and a careless management, are seminaries of vice rather than of virtue, the session, corporation, or committee of every congregation, be required to endeavor to establish one or more schools in such place, or places, as shall be most convenient for the people; that they be particularly careful to procure able and virtuous teachers; that they make the erection and care of schools a part of their congregational business, and endeavor to induce the people to support them by contribution, being not only the most effectual, but, eventually, the cheapest way of supporting them; that the Presbyteries appoint particular members, or if possible, committees, to go into vacant congregations to promote similar institutions; that the corporation, session, or committee of the congregation, visit the school, or schools, at least once in three months, to inquire into the

(1) Records of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia.

conduct of the master, and the improvement of the children, and to observe particularly his care to instruct them, at least one day in the week, in the principles of religion; that the Presbyteries, in appointing ministers to supply vacant congregations, require at the next meeting of the Presbytery, an account of their fidelity in this respect, and of the state of the schools; and that, in these schools effectual provision be made for the education of the children of the poor."

In consequence we find John Leland in 1790 making particular mention of the attention given by the Presbyterians to education, and remarking that "it may be said in truth that they have the best art of training up children in good manners, of any society in the state." (1)

Influence upon Other Churches.— Perhaps the greatest secular influence of the early Presbyterian Church on Society lay in the example of their dignified and educated ministry, along with the attention paid to the education of their children. Gewehr tells us that "the time came when their less careful Baptist and Methodist contemporaries had to follow their example in founding schools and theological seminaries or be considered 'queer.'" (2)

Following we will give brief sketches of the two oldest Presbyterian Schools in Virginia--Liberty Hall Academy, now Washington and Lee University; and Hampden-Sydney College.

LIBERTY HALL ACADEMY (Now W. & L. University)

Alexander's Classical School.— The germ of Liberty Hall Academy was a classical school, called the Augusta Academy, established in 1749, by Robert Alexander. This was the first Classical School in the Valley of Virginia, and was first

(1) Va. Chronicle in Works,--Given in The Gt. Awak., Gewehr, 221.

(2) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 221.

located about two miles southwest of the present village of Greenville. It was continued by an uninterrupted succession of principals and instructors, on successive sites, under successive names, increasing in usefulness and influence, until it gradually developed into Washington and Lee University.(1)

Robert Alexander.-- The Scotch-Irishman, Robert Alexander, located in Augusta county about 1743. He was a M.A. of Trinity College, Dublin University, and the grandfather of the venerated Dr. Archibald Alexander, who became president of Hampden-Sydney and later of Princeton.(2)

Rev. John Brown.-- Mr. Alexander was succeeded as principle of Augusta Academy by Rev. John Brown, his pastor, who accepted a call from New Providence and Timber Ridge churches in 1753. During Brown's administration the Academy was moved first to Old Providence, then to New Providence Church, and shortly before the Revolution to Mt. Pleasant, about a mile west of Fairfield, now in Rockbridge county.(3)

Presbyterial Action.-- The Presbytery of Hanover meeting at D.S., Oct. 9, 1771, recorded this minute, "Presbytery being very sensible of the great expediency of erecting a Seminary of Learning somewhere within the bounds of the Presbytery, do recommend it to all the members to take the matter under consideration, and report their thoughts at our next, respecting the best method of accomplishing it." This report was deferred until Oct. 16, 1773, when the Presbytery agreed "to fix the public Seminary of liberal education of youth, in Staunton, in Augusta."

(1) Historical Sketch in Catalogue of Alumni, 7.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

Presbytery meeting at Cub Creek, Oct. 13, 1774, resumed the consideration of a School, and decided to confine it to the county of Augusta, but left the fixing of a definite place till a later meeting.(1) At this same meeting, William Graham, having been properly recommended,(2) was appointed as manager or assistant, "under the inspection of Rev. John Brown." The Presbytery then took up the matter of providing a "public Library and other Apparatus for the benefit of the Seminary," and appointed a committee of ministers to receive contributions from the several congregations. At the Spring Meeting, April 15, 1775, this committee was supplemented by a number of laymen.(3)

Presbytery Visits the Academy.- Having the opportunity of visiting the School under the direction of Mr. Brown, "accordingly the Presbytery repaired to the School House, and attended a Specimen of the proficiency of the students in the Latin and Greek languages and pronouncing orations, with which they were well pleased." Meeting at Timber Ridge, May 3, 1776, the Presbytery again visited the School and highly approved "of the proficiency of the students, and diligence and abilities of the Teachers."(4)

Graham Made Principal.- May 4, 1776, Mr. Graham informed the Presbytery that he had "purchased Books and Apparatus for the Academy to the amount of £160-10-9½." He also signified his acceptance of a call from Timber Ridge and Hall's Meeting-House, and was chosen Rector (or Principal) of the Academy with John Montgomery as his assistant.(5)

(1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (2) Sks.of Va., Foote, I, 441.
(3) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid.

Location.- Timber Ridge was finally fixed upon for the location of the Academy for the following reasons: 1. It appeared to be a convenient place, 2. "they have obtained a minister whom we judge qualified," 3. Capt. Alex. Stewart and Samuel Houston each offered to give forty acres of land for the purpose, convenient to the place of public worship, 4. the neighbors offered to build a hewed log-house 28 x 24 feet, one story and a half high, besides their subscriptions, and 5. promised firewood and timber for the buildings gratis for at least twenty years.(1)

First Trustees.- Then the first board of Trustees were appointed consisting of:(2)

"The Revd. Messrs. John Brown, James Waddell, Charles Cummings, William Irvin, and the Rector ex officio, in conjunction with Mr. Thomas Lewis, Gen. Andrew Lewis, Col. William Christian, Col. Wm. Fleming, Mr. Thomas Stewart, Mr. Samuel Lyle, Mr. John Gratton, Col. Wm. Preston, Mr. Sampson Matthews, Col. John Bowyer, Major Samuel McDowell, Mr. Wm. McFeters, Capt. Alex. Stewart, Capt. Wm. McKee, Mr. John Huston, Mr. Charles Campbell, Capt. George Moffet, Mr. William Ward, and Capt. John Lewis of the warm Springs."

Seven of these Trustees were made a quorum, and "they are to collect Subscriptions and donations, expend the Monies, and conduct all the Concerns of this Academy in behalf of the Presbytery: Also they are to keep a fair book of Accompts, and all the Transactions relating to the Academy; the Presbytery reserving to themselves the right of Visitation for ever, as often as they shall judge it necessary, and of chusing the Rector and his Assistant."

A committee was also appointed to survey the land, and secure the title; and to draw the plans, and let the building of such houses as they shall judge necessary.(3)

Liberty Hall.- At the first meeting of the Trustees after the battle of Lexington, the Trustees changed the name to "Liberty

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

Hall,¹ perhaps because they were incited by the patriotic spirit of the day, or perhaps because Liberty Hall was the name of the country home of Rev. John Brown's family in Limerick county, Ireland. Both reasons may have figured in their decision.⁽¹⁾

Early Curriculum and Expenses.— The Virginia Gazette of Nov. 8, 1776, announced that "Liberty Hall, is now established for the liberal education of youth, on Timber Ridge, in Augusta county, where all the most important branches of literature, necessary to prepare young gentlemen for the study of **law**, Physick, and Theology, may be taught to good advantage, upon the most approved plan. The education and morals of youth being the great object in view, those peculiarities which form the complexion of any party shall have no place in the scheme." Tuition was announced to be £4 and board £9. "The students are to provide their own beds, washing, and candles; firewood will be gratis." Graham solicits the support of the public, in assuring them that they "will never find cause to call in question their catholick principles in conducting this Academy."⁽²⁾

Revolution.— Just as the school was beginning to get started in its new place the country was turned upside down by the Revolution, in which both students and Rector did their part. The number of students necessarily declined as they were called to military service. Graham himself was elected captain of a volunteer company, and led his men to meet Tarleton's British horsemen on the Blue Ridge near Charlottesville.⁽³⁾

(1) Hist. Sk. in Cat. of Alumni, 8; So. Presbyn. Leaders, White, 130.

(2) Purdie's Va. Gazette, — Given in The Great Awaken., Gewehr.

(3) Southern Presbyterian Leaders, White, 131.

New Location.-- These conditions so reduced Mr. Graham's salary in amount and value, that he was forced to turn to agriculture for the support of his family. Consequently he purchased a farm near the new Town of Lexington,(1) and with the consent of the Trustees moved his family to his farm. The distance between the farm and the Academy being too inconvenient, sometime in 1779 the Academy was moved to Graham's farm near Lexington, where yet may be seen the picturesque stone ruins of Old Liberty Hall. At this time the Academy possessed eighty acres of land, two houses, a Library of 300 volumes, and some apparatus, all valued at about \$2,000.00.(2)

Charter and Conferring Degrees.-- In the latter part of 1782, the Legislature formed the Trustees appointed by the Presbytery into a corporation under the name of "The Rector and Trustees of Liberty Hall Academy," with the right to confer degrees. The first tutor elected by the corporate Trustees was James Priestly in 1783, who later became the first President of Cumberland University, Nashville, Tenn.(3)

The first formal Commencement was held Sept. 14, 1785, when a class of twelve graduates received the degree of B.A.(4)

Revival.-- In 1789 Liberty Hall Academy became the center of the great Revival which had begun at Hampden-Sydney, and now spread up and down the Valley under the preaching of Graham

(1) When Rockbridge county was formed in 1777, Lexington was laid off as the county seat and its name taken from the battle ground in Massachusetts in 1776.

(2) Catalogue of Alumni, 8; Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 130; Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I 451-2.

(3) Ibid.--Foote, I, 458; Journal of the House of Delegates, Dec. 28, 1782; Evangelical and Literary Magazine, IV, 260.

(4) Catalogue of Alumni, 11; So. Presbyn. Leaders, White, 133.

and others. The Awakening came to Liberty Hall at a time of religious depression following the war, and in a way marked the beginning of a new era in its history.(1)

Theological Seminary.- Through the influence of the Awakening, Mr. Graham had a class in theology of seven or eight members. In 1791, the Synod of Virginia proposed to establish a Theological Seminary, to be located in Rockbridge, with Wm. Graham as its President. The Trustees thereupon proposed in lieu thereof a coalition between the Academy and proposed Seminary, and an arrangement was finally made by which the Trustees agreed to fill vacancies out of the Presbyteries of Hanover and Lexington, and Theology would be taught in Liberty Hall as a branch of science. The two presbyteries, Hanover and Lexington, were to attend the examinations, and in return the Synod should patronize and cherish the Academy.(2)

Graham Resigns.- The Trustees encouraged by this and other favorable circumstances, contracted for new and more spacious buildings to the amount of £900. The Academy now flourished more than ever before. But difficulties arose from the two offices of Mr. Graham--Professor of Theology under the direction of the Synod, and Rector of the Academy under the charter of the State. These added to financial difficulties induced Mr. Graham to resign both offices in the fall of 1796, and with his resignation the coalition probably ceased.(3)

Washington Academy.- In 1797, partly as the result of Graham's

(1) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 464-470; See page 448.

(2) Cat. of Alumni, 11; So. Presbyn. Leaders, White, 136.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 473-477.

efforts, Liberty Hall became the recipient of one hundred shares in the James River Company, as a gift from President Washington, in appreciation of which the board of Trustees changed the name to "Washington Academy."⁽¹⁾

Washington and Lee University.-- Old Liberty Hall burned in 1802, and the next year, 1803, the Academy was removed to its present site in Lexington, and retained the name, "Washington Academy" until 1870, when it was changed to "Washington and Lee University" in honor of the service rendered by Gen. Robert E. Lee.⁽²⁾ The school has grown along with the country, and today takes its place along with the leading institutions of learning in America. It is interesting to note that Henry Lee, later known as "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, the father of Robert E. Lee, was a class mate, and special friend of Graham's at Princeton.⁽³⁾

After Mr. Graham's retirement in 1796, the Synod seems to have gradually and quietly relinquished their control. Mr. Graham was succeeded by Rev. Dr. George A. Baxter, who was in turn followed by Louis Marshall, M.D. in 1827; Henry Vithake in 1835; Rev. Dr. Henry Ruffner in 1837, etc.⁽⁴⁾

William Graham.-- Mr. Graham was born Dec. 19, 1746 in Paxton township, Pennsylvannia, and reared by a pious mother. He grew up accustomed to the toils and exposures of a frontier life, working the farm with his father, Michael Graham, till his twenty-second year. He was converted about this age, and a short time afterwards took up his studies in Princeton College

(1) Ibid. 483.

(2) Ibid. 484; New Providence Presbyn. Church, Junkin, 17.

(3) Ibid.--Foote, 440; So. Presbyn. Leaders, White, 127.

(4) Hist. Presbyn. Church in Kentucky, Davidson, 45, 47.

under Dr. Witherspoon, where he was graduated in 1773 with a class of twenty-nine. Of that class twenty-three became ministers, and three Governors of a State. Of the ministers, four became Presidents of Colleges.(1)

He was married in 1776 to Miss Mary Kerr of Pennsylvania, by whom he had six children.(2) He took up his work, as we have seen, in Augusta Academy, in 1774, and carried that on successfully until 1796, when he resigned, sold out, and moved westward into the sparsely settled Ohio Valley. He seems to have had some trouble in securing a title there, and lost his money. A journey to Richmond became necessary, and the long horseback ride through the wilderness in the chilling rains, brought on a serious sickness from which he died in Richmond, June 8, 1799. He was buried near the south door of St. John's Church.(3)

Mr. Graham was slim and of medium height, active and easy in his motions. His countenance was somewhat solemn, showing deep thought and strong passions well under control. His eyes were dark, and when excited became brilliant and piercing. He was a good teacher, and well respected by his students.(4) Dr. Samuel Campbell visited Mt. Pleasant while Graham was superintending, and tells of his splendid discipline, thus:(5)

At the sound of the bell, "the sports were dropped as if by magic," and every one went to his task of study or recitation. In his own words: "It was observable that during the recitation the preceptor gave no instructions, corrected no errors, made no remarks of any kind. He seemed to sit merely as a silent

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 409, 438-41; (2) Ibid, 449, 488.
(3) Ibid. 486-7; Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 139.
(4) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 487.
(5) Ibid. 444-5; Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 128-9.

witness of the performance. The class itself resembled one of those self regulating machines of which I have heard. Each member stood ready, by trapping and turning down, to correct the mishaps and mistakes of his fellows; and as much emulation was discovered here as had been an hour before on the theatre of their sports in their athletic exercises...The business of the afternoon was closed by a devotional exercise...The systematic order of the place struck my attention. A signal called the whole school together; a signal announced the hour of recitation...These signals were obeyed without delay and without noise. The students might pursue their studies in the hall or the open air, as pleased them best. Talking or reading aloud was not permitted in the hall. The dignity of the preceptor and his well known fitness for the station gave him respectability, and he was respected."

Mr. Graham was an interesting preacher, combining the arts of instruction and evangelism in his sermons. Foote tells us that "his friends have ever thought the great error of his life was in withdrawing from Liberty Hall at the time he did." (1)

HAMPDEN-SYDNEY

Hampden-Sydney College, named after two patriots of England--Hampden and Sidney, the union^{of} whose names indicated the principles that should be taught, (2) is located in Prince Edward county, about seven miles from Farmville. It has the remarkable distinction today of having a larger proportion of its alumni represented in "Who's Who in America" than any other college in America.

Todd's Classical School.-- Hampden-Sydney may be said to have had its beginning in a classical school taught by John Todd in Louisa county. This school had the backing of Samuel Davies, and the assistance for a while of James Waddell as a teacher. (3)

(1) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 487-8. (2) Ibid. 399.

(3) The Great Awakening, Gewehr, 225.

Presbyterial Actions.- In 1771 the Presbytery of Hanover took up the subject of establishing an institution of learning on a broader and more permanent basis, and recommended "it to all the members to take the matter into consideration, and report their thoughts at our next, respecting the best method of accomplishing it.(1)

The next minute concerning a school east of the Blue Ridge was made at Cub Creek, Oct. 14, 1774, "The Presbytery taking into consideration the great extent of this colony, judge, that a public School for the liberal Education of youth would be of great importance on the South side of the Blue-Ledge, notwithstanding of the appointment of one already made in the County of Augusta." It was then recommended "to the congregations of Cumberland, Prince Edward, and Briery in particular, and to all others in general, to set a Subscription on foot to purchase a Library, a philosophical apparatus, and such other things as may be necessary."(2)

Success of Subscription.- Because of the unexpected success of the Subscription a meeting of Presbytery pro re nata was appointed at Capt. Nathaniel Venable's in Prince Edward County, Wednesday Feb. 1, 1775. The Subscription was found to total £1300 with considerable additions expected. £400 was ordered to "be applied to purchase such books, and mathematical and philosophical Apparatus as are more immediately necessary," and a committee was appointed to collect it.(3)

Location.- The next day, "The Presbytery, after viewing sev-

(1) MS. Records of Hanover Presby at D.S. Oct. 9, 1771.

(2) MS. Rec. Hanover Presby. (3) Ibid.

eral places shown them by the Gentlemen of the part, agree to Build an Academy House, and Dwelling House for the Superintendent, and other necessary houses as far as the Subscriptions will admit, at the Head of Hudson's Branch in Prince Edward County, on a hundred acres of land given for the use by Mr. Peter Johnson. Committees were then appointed "to draw plans for the houses and let them to the lowest bidder," and to have the land surveyed and the title secured.(1)

First Trustees.-- Trustees were then appointed "to collect the Subscriptions, expend the monies, and conduct all the concerns of the Academy in behalf of the Presbytery." These first Trustees were:(2)

"The Revd. Messrs. Richard Sankey, John Todd, Samuel Leak, and Caleb Wallace; together with Mr. Peter Johnson, Col. Nathaniel Venable, Col. Thos. Read, Mr. James Venable, Mr. Francis Watkins, and the Superintendent ex officio." That same fall the following were added to these: Rev. David Rice, Col. Patrick Henry, Col. John Tabb, Col. Wm. Cabill, and Col. James Madison.

First President.-- Feb. 3, 1775, Samuel Stanhope Smith was chosen Rector or Superintendent, and a call was presented to him from the United congregations of Prince Edward and Cumberland. Tuition was fixed at £4 per annum,(3) and according to an announcement in the Virginia Gazette, other expenses would not exceed £10 per annum. Students had to furnish their own beds, buy their own candles, and do their own washing.(4)

Broadmindedness.-- Though "the Presbytery reserve to themselves the liberty for ever, of Chusing the Superintendent, the Trustees, and the Assistants," thereby keeping the school under

(1) Ibid. (2) Ibid.--for Feb. 2, 1775 and Nov. 8, 1775.

(3) Ibid.-- for Feb. 3, 1775.

(4) Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gazette for Oct. 7 and Dec. 9, 1775.

Presbyterian auspices, the broadmindedness of the school was shown by the announcement that the Academy would be conducted on the "most catholic plan," and care would be taken "that no undue influence be used to bias the judgment of any student; but that all of every Denomination shall fully enjoy his own religious sentiments, and be at Liberty to attend that mode of public worship, that either Custom or Conscience makes most agreeable to them, when and where they may have an Opportunity of enjoying it."(1)

Buildings.- At a meeting of Presbytery at Rockfish, Oct. 27, 1775, Mr. Smith accepted the calls, and was ordained. At another meeting a month later at Prince Edward C.H. Nov. 8, 1775, it was reported that 98 acres of land had been surveyed and secured by a deed from Peter Johnson. It was also reported that an Academy House, and Dwelling House for the Rector had been let at £694, and a Kitchen and Smoke House were also let, which were to be valued when finished.(2)

College Opened.- The doors of Hampden-Sydney were opened in January 1776. The first faculty consisted of the Rector, and assistants John Blair Smith, and Samuel Doak, both graduates of Princeton. The large and unexpected attendance which soon passed the hundred mark, made it necessary to employ David Witherspoon as third assistant, and to build cabins and huts for accommodations, in which the students were packed "like a sugar loaf," with a plank for three or four boys to sit upon.(3)

(1) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby, for Feb.2 and 3, 1775.

(2) MS.Rec.Hanover Presby.

(3) Ibid.-May 4, 1776; Sks.of Va., Foote, I, 398,400.

The Revolution.- The outbreak of the Revolution somewhat disorganized the work of the Academy temporarily. The student body was thinned down, and expenses made more difficult by the depreciation of paper money, but the work continued. After the Declaration of Independence was signed all the students over sixteen years of age were organized as a military company, and Rev. John B. Smith chosen Captain. They wore as a uniform a hunting shirt colored with purple dye. The next year they answered the Governor's call and marched to Williamsburg in Sept. 1777 to meet the British. After remaining several days, they were discharged, but some entered the Army as officers, and some as common soldiers.(1)

In 1779 Samuel S. Smith resigned to accept the professorship of Moral Philosophy in the New Jersey College, and his brother, John Blair Smith was made President, who also combined the offices of pastor, teacher, and rector.(2)

With the return of peace, the recovery was rapid and the college was again soon filled to capacity. A charter was obtained from the Legislature in 1783 for the Academy under the legal name of College, with all proper privileges and powers.(3)

Confer First Degrees.- Sept. 22, 1786, the first collegiate degrees were conferred, when eight students were awarded the A.B. degree, among whom was Nash Legrand.(4) The first advanced degree was an M.A. conferred honorary on Rev. Henry Patillo, of N.C., April 25, 1787.(5) It was in this same year that Hampden-

(1) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 400-1. (2) Ibid. 401; MS. Rec. Hanover Presbytery, Oct. 28, 1779. J. B. Smith also took over his brother's work as pastor of Cumberland and Briery churches.

(3) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 404-5. (4) Ibid. (5) Ibid. 405.

Sydney became the center of a post Revolution revival, a part of the great inter-denominational awakening which marked the final triumph of evangelical Christianity in Virginia, and left Hampden-Sydney throbbing with a new zeal for its mission.(1)

Methods.— The names of the students, at first were placed in three classes, No. 1, 2 & 3; at the examination it was usual to say, white, yellow, black. Those who had been very studious and distinguished themselves before the Examiners, were publicly applauded by the President before the students were dismissed, and those who had been negligent were named with disapprobation. With respect to the yellow list, nothing was said, pro or con.(2)

Presidents.— In September, 1789, Mr. Smith resigned the Presidency to give himself entirely to the work of the ministry. Rev. Drury Lacy presided over the college as Vice-President, until he resigned in 1796 and devoted himself to the ministry at the College Church and Cumberland. Rev. Archibald Alexander was then chosen President, and he with the two tutors--John H. Rice, and Conrad Speece--exercised an influence on the Virginia Synod which was felt throughout the entire church. Alexander was followed in turn by Moses Hoge in 1807; J.L.Cushing in 1821; D.L.Carroll in 1836, Wm. Maxwell in 1839; P.J.Sparrow, L.W. Green, and others under whose leadership Hampden-Sydney has made splendid progress.(3)

(1) For account of this revival see pp.445-8.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 401-2.

(3) Ibid. 406-8; Hist. Presbyterian Church in Ky., Davidson, 40.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XXIV RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The struggle for toleration of Dissenters in Virginia begun by Francis Makemie, and carried on so nobly by Samuel Davies, ultimately resulted, not only in toleration, but in complete religious freedom for all sects and denominations. Providence often works slowly toward great ends, but He works surely, and makes things work together for the accomplishment of His pleasure. It will ne interesting here to trace briefly in their order some of the steps by which progress was made in this struggle for liberty of conscience.

1. FRANCIS MAKEMIE.- Mr. Makemie had succeeded in having the Toleration Act of William and Mary incorporated in the Virginia laws, and had secured his own and at least one other license to preach in the State. He had also appeared before the civil authorities in Maryland and New York with some success.(1)

2. HUGUENOTS AND GERMANS.- Some Huguenots probably came to Virginia about 1622, and perhaps others occasionally following, for the Virginia Company offered them the same privileges in Virginia as given to the English.(2) After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots began to escape from France

(1) See pp. 61-107.

(2) Huguenot Immigration to America, Baird, I, 350-1.

to all the Protestant countries of Europe, and through the influence of Col. Byrd about five hundred of them were settled at different points in Virginia about the year 1699. About two hundred came the next year and others still later until there were between seven and eight hundred men. A portion seemed to have settled about Jamestown, some in Norfolk county, others in Surry, and several hundred some twenty miles above Richmond, on the south side of the James River, now Powhatan county, where ten thousand acres of land, which had been occupied by the extinct Manakin (Monacan) tribe of Indians, were given them. This settlement was known as Manakin Town and was very much encouraged by the colonial government because of its strengthening the frontiers. Among them were the Dupuys, Flournoy, Fontaines, Lacys, Mortons, Sampsons, Venables, Watkinses and other well known Presbyterian families.(1)

In December 1700, an act was passed by the Assembly making the settlement a distinct parish under the name of "King William's Parish in the County of Henrico," and exempting it from public and county levies for seven years. This act made the refugees practically independent in church affairs. However, they were looked upon as part of the regular establishment, and the majority of them seem to have been gradually absorbed in the State system. Nevertheless, these Huguenots were dissenters in spirit, and this vein of Dissenting Huguenot blood within the establishment undoubtedly contributed materially towards final Religious Freedom.(2)

(1) Hist. of Va., Beverley, 244-5; Southern Presbyn. Leaders, White, 26; Struggle of Protestant Dissenters, McIlwaine, 35.
(2) Ibid.-McIlwaine, 36.

Likewise the settlement of the Germans at Germanna was encouraged by Gov. Spottswood. In a letter of July 21, 1714, to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, he says, "I continue, all resolved to settle out our tributary Indians as a guard to the frontiers, and in order to supply that part, which was to have been covered by the Tuscaroras, I have placed here a number of Protestant Germans, built them a fort, and finished it with two pieces of cannon and some ammunition, which will awe the straggling parties of northern Indians, and be a good barrier for all that part of the country."(1)

Germanna was located on the Rappahannock river some distance above the present Fredericksburg, and was frontier country at that time. Others came in 1717, making a colony of over a hundred, and soon some of these also showed their willingness to become a part of the Established Church, while others moved to other localities in Warren and Madison counties. This was not forced upon them, but was done voluntarily to show their desire to become thoroughly identified with the people among whom they had cast their lot. Thus another rich vein of Dissenting blood flows into the Establishment which brings with it broader ideas on Religious Freedom.(2)

Also the Government, "in receiving them and settling them upon the frontiers, set precedents which were soon followed in the case of other dissenters."(3)

(1) Spottswood's Letters, II, 70, Given in Struggle of Protestant Dissenters, McIlwaine, 37.

(2) Struggle of Protestant Dissenters, McIlwaine, 38-39; History of Orange County, Scott, 77-86.

(3) Struggle of Protestant Dissenters, McIlwaine, 39.

3. DAVIES, WADDELL, etc..- Samuel Davies, James Waddell, and others had worked valiently and had gained something for the cause of freedom of conscience; but public worship could not be held yet without permission from the civil authorities, and each application for the license of a meeting house was heard on its own merits, and sometimes refused. Licenses for ministers were also sometimes refused.(1)

The visit of Davies to England had won the sympathy of the Dissenters there, who were able to influence the home government in favor of the Virginia dissenters, and otherwise aid them in their arduous struggle.(2) The progress that had been made up until towards the close of Davies' ministry in Virginia is shown by a letter written by Hanover Presbytery July 12, 1758, to the new Gov. Fauquier and his reply, in which we find:(3)

"The Presbytery, Sir, have nothing to request for themselves, but that your Honour would secure and continue to them, the peaceable and unmolested Enjoyment of the Liberties and Immunities of the Act of Toleration, as understood in England, while they comply with its requirements, and conduct themselves as dutiful Subjects."

The Governor replied: "Gentlemen, I am extremely obliged to the Presbytery for their kind and affectionate address. Nothing can give me more pleasure than the assurances of their endeavors to circulate a proper spirit in the people to defend their Liberties at this critical juncture. The Presbytery may be assured that I shall exert myself to support the Act of Toleration and secure the peaceable Enjoyment of its Immunities to all his Majesty's Subjects, who conform thereto."

4. INDIANS..- The incursions of the savages caused the Governor to promise toleration to dissenting settlers on the frontier because of the protection it afforded to eastern Virginia.(4)

(1) See pp. 343-367; 384-393. (2) See p. 354.

(3) MS. Records Hanover Presbytery.

(4) See pp. 161-162.

5. THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.- This War "by the strange agency of fire and sword, the tomahawk and scalping knife, plead the cause of freedom of conscience with a success hitherto unknown." We have already seen something of the success of Davies as a recruiting officer, and this together with the fact that the Presbyterians were among the first and best soldiers, could not have gone unnoticed by the people, which naturally would have brought a more kindly feeling towards them.(1) We have also seen that when the Presbyterian Dissenters were suffering the depredations of savage warfare, and standing as a wall between such atrocities and the older portions of the colony, they chose their places of worship and used them without license or molestation.(2) Mr. Wright, Presbyterian minister in Cumberland county says, "Thus you see, dear sir, that amidst all our troubles God is gracious, and brings real good out of our real evils...I now preach any where, being so distant from the metropolis, and the time being so dangerous and shocking."(3)

6. THE ESTABLISHED CLERGY.- The next powerful auxiliary in the cause of liberty of conscience was the character of the Established clergy and the importance they attached to their salaries. The character of the clergy, as a whole, for some years had been any thing but desirable, though there were always some who were above just suspicion of reproach. This was in sharp contrast to the Dissenting ministers who were practically always above reproach, and could not go unnoticed by the

(1) See pp. 171, 355-8. (2) See pp. 357-8, etc.

(3) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 308; The Gt. Awk., Gewehr, 99.

public, which added materially to the cause of Religious Freedom. In addition to this the frequent trouble of the clergy with the vestrymen brought them more disrepute.(1)

Tobacco.— It is very interesting to note that tobacco played a great part in furthering the cause of religious liberty. The salary of the clergy had been fixed at 16,000 pounds of tobacco, and in 1775, when a short crop of tobacco due to a drought suddenly increased the price to about six shillings per pound, the Assembly, to prevent a financial crisis, passed an act authorizing the payment of all tobacco debts in money at two pence per pound. This was the rate established by long usage, and was renewed three years later in 1758. There were at this time about sixty-five of these clerical gentlemen, who became greatly agitated over the proposed enforcement of this law. They made numerous speeches, circulated many pamphlets, and finally appealed to England. With the aid of the Bishop of London, they succeeded in procuring an order from the King in Council that the act be declared null and void. Immediately suits were brought to procure the difference between two pence per pound and the market value.(2)

Maury and Henry.— It was in defense of one of these suits--that instituted by Rev. James Maury of Hanover, the only suit ever brought to an issue--that Patrick Henry, in 1763, displayed for the first time his marvellous eloquence. He contended that the law had every characteristic of a good law, that it was a law of general utility, and could not be annulled con-

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 309-310.

(2) Ibid. 309-314.— Presbytery of Hanover, Patton, 18-26.

sistently with the compact between the king and the people; that the disallowance by the king of this salutary act was an instance of misrule, and neglect of the interests of the colony, which made it necessary that they should provide for their own safety by adhering to the directions of the act; and that by this conduct the king, from being the father of his people, had degenerated into a tyrant, and forfeited all right to his subjects' obedience to his order regarding it. At this point Mr. Lyons cried out with warmth: "The gentleman has spoken treason, and I am astonished that your worships can hear it without emotion, or any mark of dissatisfaction." Mr. Henry paid no attention to the interruption, but continued in the same strain, without receiving any sign of disapprobation from the bench, which sat spell-bound by his eloquence, while some of the jury nodded their approbation. He then contended that the clergy instead of being useful members of the State, ought to be considered as enemies of the community, and in the case of Mr. Maury, instead of countenance and protection and damage, very justly deserved to be punished with signal severity. In Mr. Henry's own words as related by Capt. Trevilian: (1)

"We have heard a great deal about the benevolence and holy zeal of our reverend clergy, but how is this manifested? Do they manifest their zeal in the cause of religion and humanity by practicing the mild and benevolent precepts of the Gospel of Jesus? Do they feed the hungry and clothe the naked? Oh, no, gentlemen! Instead of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, the rapacious harpies would, were their powers equal to their will, snatch from the hearth of their honest parishoner his last hoe-cake, from the widow and her orphan children their last milch cow! the last bed, nay! the last blanket from the lying-in woman!"

(1) Life, Correspondence and Speeches of Patrick Henry, Henry, I, 40-42; Given in Va. Presby!sm and Rel.Lib., Johnson, 51-52; Also see Separation of Ch. and State in Va., Eckenrode, 20-30.

Mr. Henry really won the suit as Mr. Maury was awarded only one penny damages. No other suit was brought to trial, and this practically killed the influence of the clergy. The people and the legislature waited only for a fit opportunity to break down their legal power.(1) Thus tobacco was one of the entering wedges of the final and complete separation of church and state which would insure religious freedom for all time.

7. THE BAPTISTS.- During the sixth and seventh decades of the eighteenth century a new sect of dissenters--an off-shoot of the "New Lights," differing mainly from other dissenters on the mode of baptism, began to be rather numerous in Virginia. Although they had entered Virginia about 1714, the increase of their numbers was slow for many years. About 1754 they began to spread more rapidly through their ardent missionary zeal. Their ministers were generally without much education, and this together with their untactful and sometimes disorderly methods caused them to be looked upon with disdain and as disturbers of the peace. Because of this and their failure to secure licenses "their preachers were jailed repeatedly in various counties, and by their zeal and constancy gave occasion to the advocates of human rights to voice the truth."(2)

Trial of Three Preachers.- In June 1768, three preachers of this new church, John Waller, Lewis Craig, and James Childs were arrested by the sheriff of Spotsylvania. They were offered their liberty if they would promise to discontinue preaching, but this had no more effect than in the case of

(1) Ibid.-Johnson, 48-53; Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 309-314.

(2) Ibid.-Johnson, 54; and Foote, 314-15; Also Southern Presbyterian Leaders, White, 108.

John Bunyan. They gloried in their martyrdom. As they went to prison through the streets of Fredericksburg, they sang the resounding hymn, "Broad is the road that leads to death." Through the windows of the jail they preached to great throngs of people, upon some of whom the word took root. At court they were arraigned as disturbers of the peace. One of the lawyers said, "they cannot meet a man upon the road but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat." At their second trial Patrick Henry rode fifty miles to volunteer his services in thier behalf. He entered the court-room, almost entirely unknown, while the indictment was being read by the clerk. After the king's attorney had made some remarks in defense of the prosecution, Mr. Henry interrupted, "May it please the court, what did I hear read? Did I hear it distinctly, or was it a mistake of my own? Did I hear an expression, as of a crime, that these men whom your ~~worships~~ are about to try for misdemeanor are charged with, with--what? Preaching the Gospel of the Son of God?" With various intermittent remarks this query was put several times with marked effect. Finally, the scene became painful, the audience was excited, the attorney was agitated, the bench and bar were moved; and the presiding magistrate exclaimed, "Sheriff, discharge those men." (1)

Such uncalled for persecutions aroused the sympathies of multitudes who had no special attachment to either the persons or doctrines of the Baptists, and drove another wedge in the now widening rift of of Religious Freedom.

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 315-318.

8. THE REVOLUTION.- Shortly after the close of^{the} French and Indian War, Great Britain began to enforce vigorously her system of repressive taxation towards the colonies, and early in 1764, Parliament voted that they had a right to tax the American colonies without their representation. This was followed by a number of acts of indirect taxation. In March 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act, which required the use of stamped papers throughout the colonies. This news was received in America with fear and indignation. The Colonial Legislature was slow to make decided opposition, and it was left to Patrick Henry, who had just been elected to the House, to take the lead. He soon became convinced "that submission to the act would be fatal to the liberties of the colonies; and that a bold move might have the effect of uniting the people in a determined opposition." Consequently he presented his famous Resolutions Against the Stamp Act, May 30, 1765, which were passed by a small majority, the last of which five resolutions is: (1)

"That the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

These oppressions of the mother country were driving the colonies in political revolution and making war inevitable. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, having felt the hand of the oppressor in the old country, now became the earliest and staunchest friends of independence in America. Bancroft, the historian, writes: "The rigid Presbyterians proved in America

(1) Va. Presby'ism and Religious Liberty, Johnson, 57-58.

the supporters of religious freedom. They were true to the spirit of the great English dissenter who hated all laws that were formed

'To stretch the conscience, and to bind
The native freedom of the mind.'

Fincastle Resolutions.-- The Scotch-Irish on the frontiers, through the struggles for their religious rights, were prepared to be the first to advance to a declaration of independence. Consequently we find that the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of Southwest Virginia met at the Lead Mines, county seat of Fincastle county, Jan. 20, 1775, and prepared an address to the Virginia delegates attending the Second Continental Congress in Philadelphia, known as "The Fincastle Resolutions," in the course of which they said:(1)

"We crossed the Atlantic, and explored this then uncultivated wilderness bordering on many nations of savages and surrounded by mountains almost inaccessible to any but those very savages, who have been incessantly committing barbarities and depredations on us since our first seating the country. These fatigues and dangers we patiently endured, supported by the pleasing hope of enjoying those rights and liberties which have been granted to Virginians, and were denied us in our native country, and of transmitting them inviolate to our posterity; but even to these remote regions the hand of unlimited and unconstitutional power hath pursued us, to strip us of that liberty and property with which God, nature, and the rights of humanity have vested us. We are ready and willing to contribute all in our power for the support of His Majesty's government, if applied to constitutionally, and when the grants are made by our own Representatives, but we cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to the power of a venal Parliament, or the will of a corrupt ministry. We by no means desire to shake off our duty or our allegiance to our lawful sovereign, but, on the contrary, shall ever glory in being the loyal subjects of a Protestant prince, descended from such illustrious progenitors, so long as we can enjoy the free exercise of our religion as Protestants, and our liberties and properties as British subjects. But if no pacific measures shall be proposed or adopted by Great Britain, and our enemies will attempt to dragoon us

(1) Herndon Papers; Also see Annual report of the Lexington Presbyterian Historical Committee, 4.

out of those inestimable privileges, which we are entitled to as subjects, and to reduce us to a state of slavery, we declare that we are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender them to any power on earth but at the expense of our lives. These are our real, though unpolished, sentiments of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die".

Augusta Resolutions.-- From a paper sent by the freeholders of Augusta County to the Second Virginia Convention in session at St. John's Church, Richmond, March 20, 1775, the following sentiments were expressed:(1)

"We are too sensible of the inestimable privileges enjoyed by subjects under the British Constitution, even to wish for a change, while free enjoyment of those blessings can be secured to us...But should a wicked and tyrannical ministry, under the sanction of a corrupt and venial parliament, persist in acts of injustice and violence toward us, they only must be answerable for the consequences. Liberty is so strongly impressed upon our hearts that we cannot think of parting with it but with our lives. Our duty to God, our country, ourselves, and our posterity, all forbid it. We, therefore, stand prepared for every contingency."

Botetourt Resolutions.-- About the same time also the people of Botetourt County adopted similar sentiments which states the position of the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians with exacting clearness:(2)

"To Col. Andrew Lewis and Mr. John Boyer,

"Gentlemen, For your past service you have our thanks, and we presume it is all the reward you desire. And as we have again committed to you the greatest trust we can confer (that of appearing for us in the great council of the colony) we think it expedient that you hear our sentiments at this important juncture. And first we require you to represent us with hearts replete with the most grateful and loyal veneration for the race of Brunswick; for they have been truly our fathers, and at the same time the most dutiful affection for our Sovereign, of whose honest heart we cannot entertain any diffidence; but sorry we are to add, that in his councils we can no longer confide; a set of miscreants, unworthy to administer the laws of Britain's empire, have been permitted impiously to sway. How unjustly,

(1) Report Lexington Presbytl.Hist.Committee, 4-5; See Hist. Augusta County, Peyton, 173-4.

(2) Taylor's "Historic Sullivan," 51-51,- Given in Herndon Papers. It appeared in London along with other documents in 1775.

cruelly and tyrannically, they have invaded our rights, we need not now put you in mind. We only say, and assert it with pride, that the subjects of Britain are one; and when the honest man of Boston who has broke no law, has his property wrested from him, the hunter of the Alleghany must take the alarm, and as a freeman of America, he will fly to his representatives, and thus instruct them: Gentlemen, my gun, my tomahawk, my life I desire you to render to the honour of my king and country; but my liberty to range these woods on the same terms my father has done, is not mine to give up; it was not purchased by me, and purchased it was; it is entailed on my son, and the tenure is sacred. Watch over it, gentlemen, for to him it must descend inviolated, if arms can defend it; but if not, if wicked power is permitted to prevail against me, the original purchase was blood, and mine shall seal the surrender."

John Witherspoon.-- It was in the next year, 1776, that John Witherspoon, the only minister in the Continental Congress, gave the Presbyterian voice for the Declaration of Independence before that august body:(1)

"There is a tide in the affairs of men, a nick of time. We perceive it now before us. To hesitate is to consent to our own slavery. That noble instrument upon your table, which insures immortality to its author, should be subscribed this very morning by every pen in this house. He that will not respond to its accents and strain every nerve to carry into effect its provisions is unworthy the name of freeman...For my own part, of property I have some, or reputation more. That reputation is staked, that property is pledged, on the issue of this contest; and although these gray hairs must soon descend into the sepulchre, I would infinitely rather that they descend thither by the hand of the executioner than desert at this crisis the sacred cause of my country."

Presbyterians in The Revolution.-- Presbyterians backed up all these brave resolutions by distinguished service during the long years of the war. They followed Washington to the Hudson. The trenches were strewn with their dead at Yorktown. It was their greatest privilege to follow their own General Campbell in the battle of King's Mountain, where they broke the backbone of British power in the south and practically decided

(1) Presbyterians and the Revolution, Breed, 166; Also given in Va. Presby'sm and Religious Liberty, Johnson, 75.

the long conflict. With resistless and indomitable energy they turned their faces to win the west. At New Orleans, the Scotch-Irishmen with their coonskin caps and flint lock rifles drove Wellington's seasoned soldiers, fresh from the triumphs of the Spanish peninsula, in headlong rout. Their son, George Rogers Clark, called the "Hamlet of the West," drove a wedge into the middle of the continent, splitting French and British domination in twain, and making possible the solidarity of the American Nation.(1)

The Presbyterians felt that the cause of religion as well as civil liberty was at stake, and both ministers and elders, as well as the people, went into the struggle with all their strength. Many were slain, their churches destroyed, and their congregations scattered, but the reward for all this was even greater. The Presbyterian church took on new vigor, and became pre-eminently the church of the Constitutional government. Its representative government was, to a great degree, the basis of the civil government of the New Republic. Public opinion had changed towards these stalwart gentlemen who did so much for the United Colonies. No longer would they have to plead for mere toleration. The War carried the struggle for Religious Freedom a long step forward.(2)

9. PETITIONS OF DISSENTERS.- The Revolution presented that "favorable juncture" for which Davies had longed--the opportunity for Presbyterians to "petition for the enlargement of our

(1) The Scotch-Irish of Virginia, McCorkle, 10.

(2) Va. Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty, Johnson, 75-8; American Presbyterianism, Briggs, 353-4.

liberties." This was quickly taken advantage of and petitions began to pour into the Legislature from all parts of the State, not only from Presbyterians, but from Baptists, Lutherans, and others.(1) However it was the Presbyterians here who took the prominent part in the fight for Religious Freedom.(2)

Hanover Petition 1774.— Hanover Presbytery met in special session Nov. 2, 1774, in Amherst, to remonstrate against the "Bill of Toleration" which merely recognized certain privileges of the Dissenters. This petition, while showing a willingness for their ministers to take the oath of allegiance and to have their places of worship registered, petitioned for freedom to preach, as their blessed Saviour, "who went about doing good;" and His Apostles, who not only "taught in the temple, but in every house where they came they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ." They also petitioned to be allowed to meet whenever they pleased, night or day, without any restriction as to doors open or closed; and that the dissenting clergy be placed upon the same plane with regard to liberty and protection with the clergy of the Established Church; that they might have "freedom in speaking and writing upon religious subjects;" that they might have "a right by law to hold estates, and enjoy donations and legacies for the support of our churches and schools;" and finally they ask "To have and enjoy the full and free exercise of our religion, without molestation or danger of incurring any penalty whatsoever." (3) Here we find a

(1) Va. Presby'm and Rel. Liberty, Johnson, 65-115; Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 323-346; Struggle for Rel. Liberty, James, 19-177.

(2) Presby. of Hanover, Patton, 51-4; Separation of Church and State in Va., Eckenrode, 31; (3) Char. and Cond. of the Presbyn. Church in Va., Rice, 25-8; Va. Presbm. and Rel. Lib., Johnson, 65-9.

yearning for impartial toleration, which, as we shall see, was to be voiced in less than two years.

The Bill of Rights.-- In the Convention assembled at Williamsburg, a Bill of Rights was adopted June 12th the last clause of which is:(1)

"That religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other."

James Madison.-- Another champion of Religious Freedom appeared upon the scene when this clause of the Bill of Rights was under discussion. This champion was James Madison, son of a Virginia planter, a recent graduate of Princeton, where he had imbibed the lofty principles taught by John Witherspoon. The original draft of this sixteenth clause proposed by Patrick Henry, contained the word "toleration," which Madison succeeded in having changed to "free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience."(2)

Hanover Petition, 1776.-- The first General Assembly under the new constitution, which was adopted at the Williamsburg convention June 29, 1776, convened at the Capiton in Williamsburg Oct. 7, 1776, and early in its session entered upon the subject of religious freedom. The Presbytery of Hanover sent up a memorial to this Assembly, probably written by Caleb Wallace, in which they state that they embrace the Declaration of Rights "as the Magna Charta of our commonwealth, that can

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 322.

(2) Southern Presbyterian Leaders, White, 111.

never be violated without endangering the grand superstructure it was destined to sustain. Therefore we rely upon this Declaration, as well as the justice of our honourable Legislature, to secure us the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of our consciences." As for religious establishments they say in this petition:(1)

"There is no argument in favor of establishing the Christian religion, but what may be pleaded with equal propriety for ~~establishing~~ the tenents of Mahommed by those who believe the Aleoran; or, if this be not true, it is at least impossible for the magistrate to adjudge the right of preference among the various sects that profess the Christian faith, without erecting a chair of infallibility, which would lead us back to the church of Rome." Further, "Such establishments greatly retard population, and consequently the progress of arts, sciences, and manufactures...Virginia might have now been the capitol of America, and a match for the British arms, without depending on others for the necessaries of war, had it not been prevented by her religious establishment. Neither can it be made to appear that the gospel needs any such civil aid. We rather conceive that when our blessed Saviour declares his kingdom is not of this world, he renounces all dependence upon state power, and as his weapons are spiritual, and were only designed to have influence on the judgment, and heart of man, we are persuaded that if mankind were left in the quiet possession of their unalienable rights and privileges, Christianity, as in the days of the Apostles, would continue to prevail and flourish in the greatest purity, by its own native excellence, and under the all disposing providence of God...The only proper objects of civil government are the happiness and protection of men in the present state of existence; the security of life, liberty and property of the citizens; and to restrain the vicious and encourage the virtuous by wholesome laws, equally extending to every individual. But that the duty which we owe our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can only be directed by reason and conviction; and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the universal judge. Therefore we ask no ecclesiastical establishments; neither can we approve of them when granted to others...And for reasons recited we are induced earnestly to entreat, that all laws now in force in this commonwealth, which countenance religious domination, may be speedily repealed...and every one be left to stand or fall according to merit, which can never be the case, as long as one denomination is established in preference to others."

(1) Character and Conduct of the Pres.Church, Rice, 203; Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 323-4; Va. Presby'sm and Rel.Lib.Johnson, 82-5.

Religious Freedom Makes Gains.— Thomas Jefferson, the leading champion of religious freedom at this Assembly, October 1776, in speaking of the number of petitions presented to abolish spiritual tyranny, says, "Although the majority of our citizens were dissenters, a majority of the Legislature were churchmen. Among these, however, were some reasonable and liberal men, who enabled us, on some points to obtain feeble majorities. But our opponents carried, in the general resolutions of the committee of November 19, a declaration that religious assemblies ought to be regulated, and that provision ought to be made for continuing the succession of the clergy, and superintending their conduct."(1)

Some of the points gained at this Assembly were the exemption of Dissenters from the support of the established clergy, a temporary suspension of the tax for their support from their own members, and an invitation for the expression of public opinion on the question of a general assessment for the support of all religious societies.(2)

Hanover Petition 1777.— In answer to the above concerning a general assessment, Hanover Presbytery presented another memorial to the house of Delegates June 3, 1777, drafted by Revs. Samuel S. Smith and David Rice. In this memorial they state as a kind of summary of their petitions towards the end:(3)

"As it is contrary to our principles and interest; and, as we think, subversive of religious liberty, we do again most earnestly entreat that our Legislature would never extend any

(1) Sks, of Va., Foote, I 326; Va. Pres. and Rel. Lib. Johnson, 86.

(2) Ibid.--Foote, 328; and Johnson, 87.

(3) Ibid.--Foote, 326-7; and Johnson, 87-90.

assessment for religious purposes to us, or the congregations under our care."

Voluntary Support of Established Clergy.— The suspension of the tax upon established church members for the support of their clergy passed in 1776, was continued from year to year and made perpetual in 1779, leaving the established clergy to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their members like the dissenters. However, the established^{clergy} still retained the glebes, still claimed the prerogative of marriage ceremonies with their fees, and the vestries still exercised the right of laying taxes for the support of the poor.(1)

Hanover Memorial 1780.— April 28, 1780, at a meeting of Hanover Presbytery at Mr. Waddell's, a memorial to the Assembly of Virginia petitioning them to abstain from interfering in the government of the church, was prepared, and being read in Presbytery, was appointed and directed to be transmitted to the House.(2)

Marriage.— In October, 1780, the Legislature passed an act making it lawful for dissenters to perform the ceremony of marriage. The fee was fixed at twenty-five pounds of tobacco. The certificates were to be returned to the clerk of the county on penalty of five hundred pounds. The fifth clause, however, limited the number of dissenting ministers to receive such license to four for each county, and permitted them to officiate only in their own county.(3). Four years later, these limits were abolished, and every minister was "authorized

(1) Ibid.--Foote, 330; and Johnson, 92.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 332.

(3) Ibid. 331.

to celebrate the rites of matrimony according to the forms of the church to which he belongs." (1)

Hanover Memorial May 1784.— At a meeting of Hanover Presbytery at Bethel, Augusta County, May 19, 1784, another memorial to the Assembly was prepared by Revs. John B. Smith and James Waddell. In this they still complain about certain infringements on religious freedom, as follows: (2)

1. "An estate computed to be worth several hundred thousand pounds in churches, glebes, &c., derived from the pockets of all religious societies, was exclusively and unjustly appropriated to the benefit of one, without compensation or restitution to the rest, who in many places were a large majority of the inhabitants."

2. "The episcopal church is actually incorporated, and known in law as a body, so that it can receive and possess property for ecclesiastical purposes, without trouble or risk in securing it, while other Christian communities are obliged to trust to the precarious fidelity of trustees for the purpose."

3. "The vestries of the different parishes, a remnant of hierarchical domination, have a right by law to levy money from the people of all denominations for certain purposes; and yet these vestrymen are exclusively required by law to be members of the episcopal church, and to subscribe a conformity to its doctrines and discipline as professed and practiced in England."

"Such preferences, distinctions and advantages granted by the Legislature exclusively to one sect of Christians, are regarded by a great number of your constituents as glaringly unjust and dangerous... We expect from the representatives of a free people, that all partiality and prejudice on any account whatever will be laid aside, and that the happiness of the citizens at large will be secured upon the broad basis of perfect political equality. This will engage confidence in government, and unsuspicious affection towards our fellow citizens."

General Assessment.— The subject of a general assessment was again brought before the Legislature in its two sessions in 1784 by petitions from several counties, which prayed that, "as all persons enjoyed the benefit of religion, all might be

(1) Ibid. 340. (2) Ibid. 333-334; Va. Presby'sm and Rel. Liberty, Johnson, 92-97.

required to contribute to the expense of supporting some form of worship or other."(1)

Hanover Memorial October 1784.- Patrick Henry supported the general assessment,(2) and it was feared that some kind of an assessment would be passed by the Legislature; therefore Hanover Presbytery, in session at Timber Ridge Oct. 27, 1784, sent up another memorial opposing such an assessment, in the course of which they state:(3)

"Religion as a spiritual system, and its ministers in professional capacity, ought not to be under the direction of the State. Neither is it necessary to their existence that they should be publicly supported by a legal provision for the purpose, as tried experience hath often shown...We therefore earnestly pray that nothing may be done in the case inconsistent with the proper objects of human legislation or the Declaration of Rights. We hope that the assessment will not be proposed under the idea of supporting religion as a spiritual system, relating to the care of the soul and preparing it for its future destiny. We hope that no attempt will be made to point out articles of faith, that are not essential to the preservation of society; or to settle modes of worship; or to interfere in the internal government of religious communities; or to render the ministers of religion independent of the will of the people whom they serve...In the present important moment we conceived it criminal to be silent; and therefore attempted to discharge a duty which we owe to our religion as Christians; to ourselves as freemen; and to our posterity, who ought to receive from us a precious birthright of perfect freedom and political equality."

Memorials--General Convention of Presbyterians.- The Legislature met on Monday, Oct. 17, 1785, and received from all parts of the State memorials and petitions expressing a decided opposition to the bill for a general assessment, among which was a memorial from a General Convention of Presbyterians held at Bethel, Aug. 10, 1785, prepared principally by

(1) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 355; (2) Va. Presby'sm and Rel. Liberty, Johnson, 99.

(3) Ibid. 100-104; Sks. of Va., Foote, 336-338.

Rev. William Graham, part of which is as follows: (1)

"We oppose the bill, Because it is a departure from the proper lines of legislation; Because it is unnecessary and inadequate to its professed end--impolitic, in many respects--and a direct violation of the Declaration of Rights...It unjustly subjects men who may be good citizens, but who have not embraced our common faith, to the hardship of supporting a system they have not as yet believed the truth of...It revives the principle which our ancestors contested to blood, of attempting to reduce all religions to one standard by the force of civil authority."

In speaking of the act for incorporating the Protestant Episcopal Church, they say, "We cannot consent that they shall receive particular notice or favor from government as a Christian Society; nor peculiar distinctions or emoluments...Who then would not have supposed that the same sense of justice, which induced the Legislature to dissolve the grievous establishment, would also have induced them to leave to common use, the property in churches, glebes, &c., which had been acquired by common purchase...We regret that full equality in all things, and ample protection and security to religious liberty were not incontestibly fixed in the constitution of the government. But we earnestly request that the defect may be remedied, as far as it is possible for the Legislature to do it, by adopting the bill in the revised laws for establishing religious freedom."

When this paper was presented to the Legislature in October, Rev. John B. Smith, President of Hampden-Sydney College, was given permission to speak to the lawmakers. On three successive days he pleaded with them in behalf of complete freedom in matters of religion. James Madison spoke on the same side with Smith, and presented his famous "Memorial and Remonstrance" with a large number of names attached. (2)

Religious Freedom Wins.— Under the weight of all these memorials the bill for a general assessment was lost without a struggle, and a victory for Religious Freedom was won. Dec. 17, 1785, the Legislature by a vote of 67 to 20 adopted Thomas

(1) Sks. of Va., Foote, I, 342-5; Va. Presby'ism and Rel. Liberty, Johnson, 110-115; Char. and Conduct of the Pres. Church in Virginia, Rice, 33-38.

(2) Southern Presbyterian Leaders, White, 169.

Jefferson's bill, entitled "An Act for Establishing Religious Freedom." As this bill was the goal towards which the Dissenters had been struggling for so many years, and as it still holds its place among the fundamental laws of the Virginia statute book, it will be worth while to give it here in Full.(1)

"AN ACT FOR ESTABLISHING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

"Whereas, Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incorporations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do; that the impious presumptions of legislators and rulers, civil and ecclesiastical, who being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavoring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greater part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness and is withdrawing, from the ministry, those temporary rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions any more than our opinions in physics and geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing any citizens as unworthy of public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust or emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends only to corrupt the principles of that religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed those are criminal who do not withstand such temptations, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil mag-

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, I, 346; Virginia Presby'sm and Religious Liberty, Johnson, 116-118.

istrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their illtendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he being, of course, judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great, and will prevail, if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, error ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

"2d, Be it enacted by the General Assembly, That no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument, to maintain their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

"3d. And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that, therefore, to declare this act to be irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the present or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right."

The principles of this statute were carried by James Madison into the Constitution of the United States, which in its first amendment, contains the provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."(1)

Death of the Establishment.— There was no longer and Establishment or even a shadow of such a thing; it was dead in all

(1) Sketches of Virginia, Foote, I, 346-347; Virginia Presbyterianism and Religious Liberty, Johnson, 117-118.

its parts. But even that was not enough. The Dissenters were not content by merely hewing down the tree, they kept up their attacks until they had torn it up by the roots, and destroyed the last germ from which it might be reproduced. Consequently, in 1802, the glebe lands, parsonages, and even the vessels used in the sacraments, were all disposed of. The parishes were obliterated and the clergy scattered. It had persecuted and was reaping the harvest. For a quarter of a century the old church buildings were closed or had fallen into the hands of vandals. The ancient tombstones were defaced, and the holy vessels profaned. It was not, however, a misfortune to the church thus to fall before its enemies. When it revived under the labor of the pure apostle, William Meade, it took on an evangelical spirit, was purified from the bad blood, and became invigorated with a new life.(1)

(1) Virginia, A History of the People, Cooke, 393-396; Southern Presbyterian Leaders, White, 170; Separation of Church and State in Virginia, Eckenrode, 130-155.

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN VIRGINIA

Chapter XXV

SUMMARY

It will be interesting and perhaps profitable to take several paragraphs in summing up what we have done in this volume, and draw some conclusions of our results.

The early history of Presbyterianism in all sections of America is clothed with much obscurity. Few records were kept in the early days, and some of those have been hopelessly lost. Presbyterians, different from other religious bodies, emigrated in small numbers until after the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Every effort previous to about this time to colonize Presbyterians in America was a dismal failure. Consequently their settlements were so scattered that it was sometime before Presbyterian Churches could be organized, and it was not until 1705-6 that a Presbytery could be formed. This brought about a very distinct type of Presbyterianism in America, similar to all types of Presbyterianism in Europe, especially in the British Isles, yet distinct from each.

This obscurity is particularly noticeable in Virginia, for it was practically all missionary territory until after the middle of the eighteenth century. What few ministers were residing in the state held their membership in a northern Presbytery.

However, the appearance of Presbyterian principles is found in Virginia under the name of Puritanism practically from the very beginning of the colony. These early Virginia Puritans increased rapidly in numbers, and continued to worship in the Episcopal churches until the Establishment had so deteriorated through the government by the State, and the irresponsible clergy, that it became necessary for them to dissent and worship to themselves in order to retain the purity of the Gospel in their services. This immediately brought them into conflict with the laws of the State, which required attendance at the Established Church, and caused them to suffer much persecution--imprisonment, fines, and sometimes banishment. This persecution was more noticeable in the vicinity of Elizabeth River, in old Hanover county, and in the Northern Neck than most other sections.

The old Church on Elizabeth River, now the Norfolk churches, has had practically a continuous existence since about 1621, though there may have been no Presbyterian organization until about fifty years later. This is easily the oldest Presbyterian Church in the South. Many of their early ministers are known to us.

The coming of the dauntless and indefatigable Francis Makemie was a great boon to Early Presbyterianism in all America and especially in Virginia where he made his home. He succeeded in getting the Toleration Act included in the Virginia Laws. He preached for a time with great success at Elizabeth River, organized churches on the Eastern Shore,

and it was to a great extent through his labors that the Presbytery of Philadelphia was organized in 1705-6. After his death Presbyterianism waned in eastern Virginia, and for more than a quarter of a century was little heard of, due to a great extent to the persecutions of the Establishment.

However, in a few years, especially during the thirties and forties of the eighteenth century, that noble race of Scotch-Irish, and some Scotch, prepared as no other race of people on the whole earth by persecution for their religion, began to pour in from the north across the Potomac River into the Valley of Virginia. Some, perhaps not all of that race, had established themselves in the lower part of that valley much earlier--some as early as 1707, and a Presbyterian church was organized at "Pocomoke," near the present Shepherdstown in 1719-20. As was the habit of the Scotch-Irish, they immediately established churches in their settlements throughout the entire Valley. Some crossed over into eastern Virginia and settled along the base of the Blue Ridge, and others pushed on south to the Roanoke and New Rivers, and some on into southwest Virginia, everywhere establishing churches almost before they had completed their homes. Then they began to "supplicate for supplies" from northern Presbyteries with some success.

Though these Presbyterians on the frontier were unmolested by the Establishment in their religious services, they had the savages to contend with. Practically every summer they were forced to take refuge in forts built for the purpose. Many of them were ruthlessly murdered by these painted demons of the

forest. Numbers were carried to the Indian towns as captives, some of whom were cruelly tortured and sacrificed as a religious^{rite}, or for revenge, and others were treated very kindly. One of the most notable instances of these Indian raids is that of Abb's Valley in southwest Virginia.

Some races of people would have left the country rather than endure such hardships and sufferings, but not these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. They would rather put up with the inconveniences of the frontier, and fight the savages, so long as they were permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience, than be forced to conform to systems they did not believe in and live in sumptuous palaces. "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness." (1)

About 1738 Samuel Morris and others in Hanover county, through the influence of good books that accidentally came into their possession, began to experience a change in heart they had not experienced before. Others became interested and "Morris's Reading Houses" developed, which became very popular, and whole communities were affected. For some time they did not know to what denomination they would adhere, but when they began to learn of Presbyterianism they adopted that name. Rev. William Robinson visited them by invitation in the Spring of 1743, and afterwards other northern ministers came to them for short periods, and during the brief visit of each great progress was made.

(1) Psalms 84:10.

In 1747 Rev. Samuel Davies visited Hanover, and accepted a call from the people there the next year, during whose ministry of about twelve years the people were greatly revived in the spirit, numbers were added to their rolls--including black slaves as well as English gentlemen, new fields were opened up, and other ministers settled, and much of this done in the face of direct opposition by the Established clergy. Mr. Davies was the next outstanding man in Virginia Presbyterianism after Makemie. He was a busy man, a hard worker, and accomplished much. It was during his ministry and greatly to his credit that the Presbytery of Hanover was formed in 1755 of six members, three of whom, besides himself, were introduced into Virginia by his efforts. He may well be called "The Father of the Synod of Virginia."

Conditions in the Northern Neck of Virginia were something like they were in Hanover county before the miraculous rise of Presbyterianism there, and God sent a layman, John Organ, who revived the people by reading the Scriptures to them, and was the means of converting many. Though the Established Church opposed the dissenters strongly in this section, they continued to grow with occasional supplies and the services of such splendid laymen as the Gordons, until the famous Rev. James Waddell became their pastor in 1762, during whose ministry they continued to grow amidst opposition. However, upon his departure in 1778, made necessary on account of his health, Presbyterianism visibly declined in that section.

The Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church formed by the

union of the Associate and Reformed Churches in 1782, rightfully deserves a place in this work, though they are a very small body in Virginia. The Associate Presbytery was petitioned for supplies from the Valley as early as 1753.

By the end of the century Presbyterianism had made splendid progress in Virginia. There were four Presbyteries established in the State-- Hanover formed in 1755, Lexington formed in 1786, and Winchester formed in 1794 in the Virginia Synod, and Abingdon formed in 1785 in the Carolina Synod. The number of organized Presbyterian churches in Virginia in the year 1800, several of which were connected with northern Presbyteries, and including five of the Associate Reformed Presbyterians, had increased to at least eighty-four, forty-one of which had settled pastors. There were numerous preaching places besides the above churches that occurred frequently in the Church records asking and receiving supplies. The number of resident Presbyterian ministers in the State in 1800 had increased to thirty-four, including two of the A.R.P. Church.

The Great Awakening, begun by Theodorus Frelinghuysen in New Jersey, and carried into the Presbyterian Church by the Tennents, Edwards, and others, was a great blessing to the Virginia Church. The temporary schism following the Awakening, (1745-58), was not felt very much in Virginia. Both sides sent their missionaries at leisure, but it was the evangelistic wing of the church, called during this division "New Lights" or "New Side," that made the greatest progress in Virginia. Samuel Davies belonged to this party, and all of the ministers that

first formed Hanover Presbytery.

The great awakening broke out again in 1788-9 in the vicinity of Hampden-Sydney College, and spread to all sections of the State, bringing multitudes into the church and numerous young men into the ministry.

The Presbyterian Church has always been noted for its high standard of Education, which it maintained in Virginia from the very first amidst very unfavorable circumstances. Practically all of her ministers have been scholars, devoted and capable students of the Bible, as well as good men. Presbyterian families were reared on the Bible and the Catechism. Many ministers taught school in addition to their laborious pastorates. Hanover Presbytery early recognized the need of better facilities for higher education, and just previous to the American Revolution established two Presbyterian Colleges, Hampden-Sydney, east of the Blue Ridge, and Liberty Hall, now Washington and Lee University, in the Valley.

Not only were Presbyterians interested in the salvation of souls, high standards of education, and the general welfare of the state, but they were vitally interested in Religious Freedom, so much so that they became the leaders in all sections of the State in this fight. And through the labors of Francis Makemie, Samuel Davies, James Waddell, and others; through the great part Presbyterians took in the French and Indian War, and the Revolution; and through their persistent Petitions to the Legislature and their representatives in the Continental Congress; together with the weakening of the Estab-

lishment from the inside by strong veins of Dissenting blood from the Germans, Huguenots and others flowing into it; the corruption of the clergy, which was disgusting to the people; and the help of the Baptists, a complete victory was gained in 1785 with the passing of that memorable and immortal "Act for Establishing Religious Freedom."

The members of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia may well be proud of their great and glorious ancestry, for hardly can any one claim to be descended from a group of more noble, courageous and God fearing people. We pause, we take off our hats, and we bow to them. Then as we look towards the future, our lives should be inspired to equally great, noble, and self-sacrificing deeds,--depending on that same God to uphold us who never failed to uphold our forefathers in their most difficult tasks. "I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee. Be strong and of a good courage."(1)

Joshua 1:5-6.

APPENDIX

I

Some Letters of Francis Makemie.

For a complete list of all Makemie's writings that are known to us today, see Appendix IV, The Bibliography. Some of these have been partly given in this volume, and though it will be impossible to give all the others here, it will be interesting to have his complete letters here as follows:

1.

"Elizabeth R. Virginia 22 July --84

R. & d. B.

I wrote to you the unacquaint, by Mr. Lamb from North Carolina, of my designe for Ashly (R So)uth Carolina, which I was soe forward in accomplishing th(at I en)gaged in a voyage, and went to sea in the moneth of May bu(t god) in his providence saw it fitt that I should nott see it, att this time; for wee were beate upon the coast by contrary winds, and to the North as far as Delaware bay, for five weeks together, soe that falling short in our provisions were necessitated, after severall essayes to the South, to Virginia, and in the meane while, Collonell Anthony Lawson, and other inhabitants of the Parish of Linhaven, in lower Norfolk County, who had a dissenting Minister formerly from Ireland untill the Lord was pleased to remove him by death, in August last, among whom I preached, before I went to the South, in coming from Maryland, against their earnest importunity, coming soe pertinently to the place of our landing for water, renewing their suits, prevailed with me to stay this season, which the more easily overcame me, considering the season of the yeare, and the litle encouragment I found for Carolina from the sure information I have had. But for the satisfaction of my friends in Ireland, whom I designe to be very nice in inviting to any place of America I have yet seen, I have sent one of our number to acquaint me further concerning the place. I am here assured of liberty, and other encouragments, resolving to submit to the soveraigne providence of gd who has been pleased very unexpectedly to drive me back to this poor desolate people, among whom I desire to continue untill god in his providence determine otherwise concerning me. I have presumed a second before I can heare how acceptable my first has been. I hope this will prevent your writing to Ashly R. and

determine your resolution in directing your letters to Coll. Anthony Lawson, att the Eastern branch of Elizabeth R. I expect if you have an opportunity of writing to Mr. John Hart, you will acquaint him concerning (m)e; which with your prayers, and advice will oblige him who is your dear, and affectionate brother in (the) gospell of our Lord Jesus.

ffrancis Makemie.

"The bearer Mr Wilson will be a safe bearer.

"To The reverend Mr Increase Mather Minister of the Gospell att Bostone n. England, These."(1)

2.

"Eliza. R., 28 July, 1685.

Honoured Sir:-

Yours I received by Mr. Hallet with three books, and am not a little concerned that those now sent to Ashley R were miscarried, for which, I hope it will give no offence, to declare my willingness to satisfy; for there is no reason they should be lost to you, and far less that the gift should be reiterated for which I am obliged to own myself your debtor. And assure yourself if you have any friend in Virginia, to find me ready to receive your commands. I have wrote to Mr. Wardrope, and beg you would be pleased to order the safe conveyance thereof unto his hands. I have likewise wrote a line to one Mr. Thomas Barret, a minister who lived in S. Carolina, who, when he wrote to me from Ashley R., told me that next week was to take shipping for N.E., so that I conclude he is with you. But, if there be no such man in the country, let me letter be returned.

I am yours in the Lord Jesus,

ffrancis Makemie."(2)

3.

"Philadelphia, March 28, 1707.

Mr. Benjamin Colman.

R^d Brother. Since our imprisonment we have commenced a correspondence with our R^d Brethren of the Ministry at Boston, which we hope, according to our intention, has been communicated to you all, whose Sympathising concurrence, I cannot doubt of, in our expensive Struggle, for asserting our liberty, against the powerful invasion of L^d Cornbury, which is not yet over.

"I need not tell you, of a pick^d Jury, and the penall laws are invading our American Sanctuary, without the least regard to the Toleration, which should justly alarm us all. I hope Mr. Campbell, to whom I direct this for the more safe Conveyance, has shown or informed you, what I wrote last.

(1) American Presbyterianism, Briggs, Appendix, xlvi-xlvii.
 (2) Ibid. xlvii.

"We are so far, upon our return home; tho' I must return for a finall Tryall which will be very troublesome and expensive. And we only had liberty, to attend a Meeting of Ministers we had formerly appointed here; and were only Seven in number, at first, but expect a growing number: Our design is to meet yearly, and oftener, if necessary, to consult the most proper measures, for advancing religion, and propagating Christianity, in our Various Stations, and to mentain Such a Correspondence as may conduce to the improvement of our Ministeriall ability by prescribing Texts to be preached on by two of our number at every meeting, which performance is Subjected to the censure of out Brethren; our Subject is Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, I and another began and performed our parts on vs. 1, 2, and the 3 is prescribed to Mr. Andrews and another. If any friends write, direct to Mr. Jⁿ Bud at Philadelphia, to be directed to me in Virginia. Pardon S^r this diversion from

Your humble Servant, and Brother in the
Worke of the Gospell,
ffrancis Makemie."(1)

4.

Boston, July 28, 1707.

(To Lord Cornbury),

"May it please Your Lordship; I must humbly beg leave to represent to Your Excellency my just astonishment at the information received from sundry hands since my arrival in these Colonies, and after so long and so expensive a confinement, so deliberate and fair a trial before Judges of Your Lordship's appointment and by a jury chosen by your own Sheriff on purpose to try the matter. I have been legally cleared, and found guilty of no crime, for preaching a sermon at New York, though my innocence protected not from intolerable expense.

"I am informed, may it please Your Excellency, there are orders and directions given to sundry officers in the Jerseys for apprehending me, and a design of giving me fresh trouble at New York.

"If I were assured of the true cause of Your Lordship's repeated resentments against me, I doubt not but my innocence would not only effectually justify me, but remove those impressions imposed on Your Lordship by some persons about you.

"And as to my preaching; being found at the trial against no law nor any ways inconsistent with Her Majesty's Instructions produced there; and considering the solemn obligations I am under, both to God and the souls of men, to embrace all opportunities for exercising those ministerial gifts vouchsafed from Heaven, to whom I do appeal that I have no other end besides the glory of God and the eternal good of precious souls; I must assure myself Your Lordship insists not on this now as a crime, especially in New York Government where all Protestants are

(1) Ibid. xlix-1.

upon an equal level of liberty and there is no legal Establishment for any particular Persuasion.

"I hear I am charged with the Jersey Paper, called, Forget and Forgive. Though the proving a negative in my just vindication be a hard task and not an usual undertaking, yet I doubt not but the thing itself (will clear me), the matter it contains being foreign to me; the time of its publication, being so soon spread abroad after my arrival. I am well assured that none dare legally accuse me, while the authors smile at Your Lordship's mistake and imposition, whose informers deserve to be stigmatized with the severest marks of Your Lordship's displeasure, and the authors will find a time to confront my sworn accusers with perjury. And besides that, I never saw it till about the last of February.

"We have suffered greatly in our reputations, and particularly by being branded with the character of Jesuits; though my universal known reputation in Europe and America, makes me easy under such invidious imputations. I have been represented to Your Lordship as being factious in the Government, both of Virginia and Maryland. I have peaceably lived in Virginia, and I brought from Maryland a certificate of my past reputation, signed by some of the best quality of the most contiguous county, ready to be produced at the Trial, if there had been occasion for it. A copy of which I presume to inclose for Your Lordship's perusal and satisfaction.

"I beg leave to represent to Your Lordship my just concern at the sundry Precepts for apprehending me, both in York and Jerseys, as one of the greatest criminals; whereby I am prevented in performing my own ministerial duties to many in Your Lordship's Government of my own Persuasion who desire it. I shall patiently expect Your Lordship's commands and directions, in giving me an opportunity for vindicating myself in what is charged against me, and being always ready to comply with any qualification enjoined and required by law.

"I beg leave of Your Lordship to subscribe myself Your Excellency's most humble and most obedient servant."(1)

(1) The Days of Makemie, Bowen, 478-9.

APPENDIX

II

Old Pastoral Calls.

There are several old pastoral calls extant that will be interesting to give here. They show something of the destitute condition of the congregations, and their eagerness to obtain ministers.

1. To Rev. Samuel Black.

This Call from the inhabitants of Ivy Creek and Mountain Plains Congregation, dated, Ivy Creek, March 29, 1747, is as follows: (1)

"Whereas it is agreed or proposed that ye inhabitants of Ivy Creek and ye Mountain Plains congregation joyn together with ye congregation of Rockfish, to call and invite ye Rev. Samuel Black, now residing in ye bounds of ye Donegal Presbytery of Penn. to be our minister, and Pastor, to administer ye ordinance of ye gospel among us. All we whose names are hereunto affixed do promise and oblige ourselves to pay yearly and every year ye several sums annexed to our names for ye outward support and encouragement of ye said Mr. Samuel Black during his abode and continuance among us, for ye one half of his Labors in ye Administration of Gospel Ordinances to us in an orderly way according to ye rules and Practice of our Orthodox Reformed Presbyterian Church: As witness our hands.

Michael Woods.....	1-10-	Wm. Woods.....	1-10-
Archd. Woods.....	1- 5-	Wm. Wallace.....	1- 5-
Andrew Wallace.....	-15-	John Woods, Sr.....	-15-
John Grier.....	-10-	Thos. Lockhart.....	-10-
Peter Hariston.....	- 8-	Adam Gaudylock.....	-10-
Michael Woods, Jr..	-10-	Wm. McCord.....	-10-
John Gamble.....	-10-	Davis Stockton.....	1-00-
Hugh Dobbins.....	-10-	David Lewis.....	- 5-
James Gamble.....	- 5-	Chas. Lambert.....	- 5-
Jn. Monday.....	- 5-	Thomas Evans.....	- 5-
Thomas Wright.....	- 5-	Wm. Little.....	-10-2½.
Nathan Woods.....	-10-3.	Samuel Jameson.....	1-00-
John Lockhart.....	-15-	Hendry Burch.....	-10-

(1) History of Albemarle County, Woods, 362-3; History of Cove Church.

Thos. Alexander.....	-10-	Patrick Woods.....	- 8-2.
John McCulloch.....	-10-	Wm. Ogans.....	-12-6.
Wm. Chamberlain.....	- 5-	Thomas Craig.....	- 5-
John Thompson.....	- 5-	John Corban.....	- 6-2.
Hendry Carr.....	- 5-2 $\frac{1}{2}$.	James Weir.....	-12-2.
Robert McNeilly.....	- 6-2.	John Dicky.....	- 6-1.
Wm. Norris.....	- 6-1.	John Kinkead.....	- 5-
John Woods, Jr.....	- 5-	John Jameson.....	-10-
Benj. Wheeler.....	- 5-	W. Bucknall.....	- 5-
John Burrisse.....	- 5-	Robt. Stewart.....	- 5-2.
James Kinkead.....	-10-5.	Andrew McWilliams..	-10-2 $\frac{1}{2}$.
George Dawson.....	- 5-2 $\frac{1}{2}$.	Joseph Kinkead.....	1-00-
John McCord.....	1-00-	Archd. Woods.....	-10-
Wm. Whiteside.....	-10-	Wm. Bustard (1)....	- 6-
Thos. Whiteside.....	-10-	Matthew Mullins....	- 5-
Richard Stockton...	-12-"		

2. To Rev. John Brown.

This call from the united churches of New Providence and Timber Ridge is dated August 1753, and is as follows: (2)

"Worthy and Dear Sir: We being for these many years past in very destitute circumstances, in want of the ordinances of the gospel among us, many of us under distressing spiritual languishments, and multitudes perishing in our sins for the want of the bread of life broken amongst us, our Sabbaths wasted in melancholy silence at home, or sadly broken and profaned by the more thoughtless amongst us, our hearts and hands discouraged, and our spirits broken with our mournful condition and repeated disappointments of our expectations of relief in this particular; in these afflicting circumstances that human language cannot sufficiently paint, we have had the happiness by the good providence of God of enjoying a share of your labors to our abundant satisfaction; and being universally satisfied with your ministerial abilities in general, and the peculiar agreeableness of your qualification to us in particular, as a gospel minister; we do, worthy and dear sir, from our hearts and with the most cordial affection and unanimity, agree to call, invite, and request you to take the ministerial care of us--and we do promise that we will receive the word of God from your mouth, attend on your ministry, instructions and reproofs, in public and private, and to submit to the discipline which Christ has appointed in his church administered by you, while regulated by the word of God, and agreeable to our Confession of Faith and Directory. And that you may give yourself wholly up to the important work of the ministry, we do promise that we will pay unto you annually, the sum which our Commissioners, Andrew Steel and Archibald Alexander, shall give in to

(1) An Elder--Hist. Albemarle Co., Woods, 158.

(2) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 94-6; Hist. New Providence Church, Junkin, 7-9.

the Reverend Presbytery from the time of your acceptance of this our call; and that we shall behave ourselves towards you with all that dutiful respect and affection that becomes a people towards their minister, using all means within our power to render your life comfortable and happy. We entreat you, worthy and dear sir, to have compassion upon us, and accept this our call and invitation to the pastoral charge of our immortal souls, and we shall ever hold ourselves bound to pray.

We request the Reverend Presbytery to present this our call to the said Mr. Brown, and to concur in his acceptance of it--and we shall always count ourselves happy in being your obliged humble servants.

John Houston,
Andrew Steel,
Samuel Buchanan,
Alexander Walker,
Walter Eakin,
William Lockbridge,
Alexander Miller,
Francis Beaty,
John Hawely,
John Stuart,
William Wardlaw,
Alexander Walker,
John Houston, Jr.,
John Moore,
Samuel Houston,
Samuel Steel,
John Sprowl,
James Coulter,
Robert Reagh,
John Robinson,
Matthew Robinson,
William Gray,
James M'Clung,
David Dryden,
George Stevenson,
William Hamilton,
Thomas M'Speden,
Joseph Hay,
Francis Allison,
John Smily,
James Greenlee,
Thomas M'Murry,
James M'Dowel,
Rodger Keys,
Thomas Paxton,
Nath. Peoples,
Alexander M'Cleur,
Robert Allison,
Moses Whiteside,

John Kerr,
John Logan,
James Eakin,
John Montgomery,
James Lusk,
Robert Gamble,
John Rossman,
William Berry,
James Trimble,
Robert Robertson,
John Shields,
Charles Berry,
John M'Crosky, Jr.,
John Patton,
Robert Henry,
John Winston,
James Walker,
David Sayer,
James Robinson,
Samuel Hay,
Joseph Kennedy,
James M'Clung, Jr.,
Samuel Lyle,
John M'Cleur,
Matthew Lyle,
James Thompson,
John Davison,
James Edmiston,
Robert Houston,
John Keys,
John Stevenson,
Jacob Gray,
Nath. M'Cleur,
Edmund Hearken,
Samuel Paxton,
William Lusk,
Thomas Dryden,
Edward Gaor,
Samuel Davis."

Samuel M'Cutchon,
William Smith,
Thomas Hill,
George Henderson,
John M'Crosky, Sen.,
Alexander M'Crosky,
Robert Kirkpatrick,
John Douglass,
John Walker,
William Reah,
John Wardlaw,
Robert Weir,
Alexander Moor,
Matthew Houston,
William Whiteside,
Thomas Berry,
William Robinson,
Samuel Dunlap,
Halbert M'Cleur,
John M'Nabb,
William Caruthers,
William Davis,
Charles M'Anelly,
Neal M'Glister,
John Lowry,
Andrew Fitzpatrick,
Samuel Gray,
John Lyle,
Archibald Alexander,
John Macky,
Baptist M'Nabb,
Moses Trimble,
Magdalen Burden,
Samuel M'Dowel,
Widow M'Clung,
John Mitchel,
Daniel Lyle,
Agnes Martin,

3. To Rev. Charles Cummings.

This Call from the United Congregations of Sinking Spring and Ebbing Spring was made in April 1773 to be presented to the Presbytery at Tinkling Spring, but was not presented until June 2, 1773 at the meeting of Presbytery at Brown's Meeting House, and is as follows:(1)

"A call from the United congregations of Ebbing and Sinking Spring, on Holston's River, Fincastle county, to be presented to Rev. Charles Cummings, minister of the gospel, at the reverend Presbytery of Hanover, when sitting at Tinkling Spring.

"Worthy and Dear Sir:- We, being in very destitute circumstances for want of the ordinances of Christ's house statedly administered amongst us; many of us under very distressing spiritual languishments; and multitudes perishing in our sins for want of the bread of life broken among us; our Sabbaths too much profaned or at least wasted in melancholy silence at home, and our spirits broken with our mournful condition, so that human language cannot sufficiently paint. Having had the happiness, by the good providence of God, of enjoying part of your labors to our abundant satisfaction, and being universally well satisfied by our experience of your ministerial abilities, piety, literature, prudence and peculiar agreeableness of your qualifications to us in particular as a gospel minister,- we do, worthy and dear Sir, from our very hearts and with most cordial affection and unanimity agree to call, invite and entreat you to undertake the office of pastor among us, and the care and charge of our precious souls, and upon your accepting this call, we do promise that we will receive the Word of God from your mouth, attend on your ministry, instruction and reproof, in public and private, and submit to the discipline which Christ has appointed in his Church, administered by you while regulated by the Word of God and agreeable to our confession of Faith and directory. And that you may give yourself wholly up to the important work of the ministry, we hereby promise to pay you annually the sum of ninety pounds from the time of your accepting this our call; and that we shall behave towards you with all that dutiful respect and affection that becomes a people toward their minister, using all means within our power to render your life comfortable and happy. We entreat you, worthy and dear Sir, to have compassion upon us in this remote part of the world, and accept this our call and Invitation to the pastoral charge of our precious and immortal souls, and we shall hold ourselves bound to pray.

(1) Sketches of Va., Foote, II, 115-7; Hist. Southwest Va., Summers, 139-141. Note the similarity of this call to the one above given to Rev. John Brown. Both were made out under the Confession of Faith and Directory of the Church of Scotland. (Herndon Papers)

George Blackburn,
 William Blackburn,
 John Vance,
 John Casey,
 Benjamin Logan,
 Robert Edmondson,
 Thomas Berry,
 Robert Trimble,
 Wm. McGaughey,
 David Dryden,
 Wm. McNabb,
 John Davis,
 Halbert McClure,
 Arthur Blackburn,
 Nathl. Davis,
 Saml. Evans,
 Wm. Kennedy,
 Andrew McFerran,
 Saml. Hendry,
 John Patterson,
 James Gilmore,
 John Lowrey,
 Wm. Christian,
 Andrew Colvill,
 Robert Craig,
 Joseph Black,
 Jonathan Douglass,
 William Berry,
 John Cusick,
 James Piper,
 James Harrold,
 Samuel Newell,
 David Wilson,
 David Craig,
 William Berry,
 Moses Buchanan,
 David Carson,
 Samuel Buchanan,
 William Bates,
 William McMillin,
 John Kennedy,
 Robert Lamb,
 Thos. Rafferty,
 Thomas Baker,
 John Groce,
 Robert Buchanan,

Robert Gamble,
 Andrew Martin,
 Augustus Webb,
 Samuel Brigg,
 Wesley White,
 James Dorchester,
 James Fulkerson,
 Stephen Jordan,
 Alex. Laughlin,
 James English,
 Richard Moore,
 Thomas Ramsey,
 Saml. Wilson,
 Joseph Vance,
 William Young,
 William Davidson,
 James Young,
 John Sharp,
 John Long,
 Robert Topp,
 John Hunt,
 Thomas Bailey,
 David Gattgood,
 Alex. Breckenridge,
 George Clark,
 James Molden,
 William Blanton,
 Chrisr. Acklin,
 James Craig,
 Joseph Gamble,
 John McNabb,
 Chrisr. Funkhouser,
 John Funkhouser,
 John Funkhouser, Jr.,
 Thomas Evans,
 William Marlor,
 Wm. Edmiston,
 Thos. Edmiston,
 John Beaty,
 David Beaty,
 George Feator,
 Michl. Halyacre,
 Stephen Cawood,
 James Garvill,
 Rob. Buchanan, Jr.,
 Edward Jamison,

John Sharp,
 John Berry,
 James Montgomery,
 Samuel Huston,
 Henry Cresswell,
 George Adams,
 George Buchanan,
 James Dysart,
 William Miller,
 Andrew Leeper,
 David Snodgrass,
 Danl. McCormick,
 Francis Kincannon,
 Joseph Snodgrass,
 James Thompson,
 Robert Denniston,
 William Edmiston,
 Saml. Edmiston,
 Andrew Kincannon,
 John Kelley,
 John Robinson,
 James Kincannon,
 Margaret Edmiston,
 John Edmiston,
 John Boyd,
 Robert Kirkham,
 Martin Pruitt,
 Nicholas Brobston,
 Andrew Miller,
 Alexander McNutt,
 William Pruitt,
 John McCutchen,
 James Berry,
 James Trimble,
 Richard Heggons,
 John Lester,
 Hugh Johnson,
 Edward Pharis,
 Saml. White,
 Joseph Lester,
 William Lester,
 William Page,
 Saml. Buchanan, Jr.,
 Thomas Montgomery,
 Samuel Bell,
 John Campbell."

APPENDIX

III

Tabulated Record of PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS WHO LABORED IN VIRGINIA in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

An effort is made here to tabulate the records of all Presbyterian ordained Ministers and Licentiates who labored in Virginia prior to the year 1801. Many of them did not settle in Virginia, but merely itinerated, or, at most, supplied some section for several months.

The items tabulated are in most cases found in this volume with the references. The others are found in the Presbyterian, Synodical, or Assembly Records, and perhaps several from Foote's Sketches of Virginia, Graham's Northern Virginia, or The Centennial History of the A.R.P. Church.

The germ of Presbyterianism was first introduced in Virginia by the Puritans in the early seventeenth century, which, after about three-quarters of a century, began to take the form of the Presbyterian Church. Among these first noble ministers, who, because of their faith may be called Presbyterians as well as Puritans, we may number:

1. Robert Hunt, who came with the first settlers in 1607.
2. Alexander Whitaker, who came in 1611.
3. Mr. Davenport, who labored before and after 1621
4. Robert Bolton, who preached in Elizabeth City and on the Eastern Shore about 1621.

5. Wm. Bennett, on Nansemond River, 1621-1623.
6. Henry Jacob, on Nansemond River, 1624 until his early death.
7. Mr. Lathrop, succeeded Henry Jacob.
8. Richard Bennett, sometime after Mr. Lathrop.
9. Mr. Knowles, Nansemond Section, 1642- until forced to leave by persecution.
10. Mr. Thompson, Nansemond Section, 1642- until forced to leave by persecution.
11. Thomas James, Nansemond Section, 1642- until forced to leave by persecution.
12. Thomas Harrison, a convert of the last three named men, who labored in the Nansemond Section until he too was forced to leave in 1749.

The arrangement of these Tables, will, it is supposed, be readily understood. Ministers are listed, not according to their licensure or ordination, but chronologically according to their first recorded labors in Virginia. The date of some is rather uncertain, but is given as near as possible. Dates are given for brevity according to the number of the month in the year--number of day in the month--year.

Presbyterian Ministers Who Labored in Virginia

No.	Name	Presbytery		Service	Removal, or Death, (D.)
		Licensed by	Ordained by		
1	Francis Doughty			Preached occasionally in the Northern Neck until 1657	D. 1657
2	Matthew Hill			Succeeded F. Doughty & cont. until 1676	
3	James Porter			Elizabeth River Church - Aug. 1683	D. Aug. 1683
4	Francis Mackie	Laggan - Ireland 1681-2	Laggan 1681-2	Elizabeth River Church 1683-1692 Pocomoke & Omacoak 1692-5; 1698-1708	D. Summer 1708
5	Sosias Mackie			Elizabeth River Church 1692-1716	D. 1716
6	Daniel McGill			Organized Potomake Church 1719-20	
7	John Orme		New Castle	Itinerated 1723-4	
8	Hugh Conn		Long Island	Itinerated 1723	
9	Wm. Stewart			Itinerated 1723	
10	Wm. McMillan	New Castle 9-18-1724		Itinerated 1724	
11	Hugh Stevenson		New Castle	Preached in the Northern Neck 1733	
12	Samuel Gelston		New Castle	Visited Opequon Field 1735-6.	
13	James Anderson		Donegall	Itinerated 1738	
14	John Thompson		Donegall	Itinerated 1739	
15	Mr. Dunlap	New York		3 months in the Valley in 1739	
16	John Craig	Donegal 8-30-1738	Donegal Sept. 1740	Augusta Stone 1739-4-21-1774 Tinkling Spring 1739-1764	D. 4-21-1774

17	Samuel Carin			Donegal	Supplied Opegon, Bullskin and Potomoke, occasionally, 1740-45	
18	Alex McDowell	Donegal 10-9-1741		"	Itinerated 1741	
19	John Hindman	Donegal 1742		" 1742-7	Supplied Bullskin 1742-43 " "Head of the Shenandoah" 1744-46	Dism. to the Episc. Ch. 1747 D. 1748.
20	Wm. Robinson	New Brunswick May 1741	New Brunswick 8-4-1741	New Brunswick	Itinerated 1742-43. First Presb. Min. to Preach in Hanover Co.	D. May 1746
21	John Blair			New Castle	Visited Hanover 1749 or 1744 Itinerated in the Valley 1745-6	D. 12-8-1771
22	John Roan			Synod of N. Y.	Preached in Hanover 1744-5 " " the Valley 1768	D. 10-3-1775
23	Gilbert Tennent	New Castle 1745		New Brunswick	Visited Hanover, fall of 1745	
24	Samuel Finley	New Brunswick 8-5-1740		New Castle	" " " " " "	D. 7-17-1776
25	Alex. Craighead			Donegal 1736-55 Hanover 1755-	2 Windy Cove and Vicinity about 1745-58	R. to N. C. 4-26-1758 D. 1766
26	Wm. Tennent			New Brunswick	Visited Hanover and Adm. Socr. about 1746 Supplied " " vacante 1762	D. 3-8-1777
27	Samuel Blair	Philadelphia 1733	East Jersey 1734	New Castle	Visited Hanover and Adm. Socr. about 1746	D. 7-5-1751
28	Eliab Byram			New York	Itinerated 1747	
29	Wm. Dean			Synod of N. Y.	" " "	D. 1748 or 49.
30	Samuel Black	New Castle	New Castle 10-18-1735	New Castle - 1758 Hanover 1758-	Rockfish 9-29-1747 to 7-19-1759 Mountain Plains " " "	D. about 1771
31	Samuel Davies		New Castle 7-30-1746	New Castle - 1755 Hanover 1755-	Hanover and vicinity 1747-5-16-1759	R. to Pa. 1759 D. 2-4-1761
32	John Rodgers	New Castle 10-14-1747			Itinerated 1748	D. 5-7-1811
33	Joseph Tate			Donegal	" fall 1749; 1754	
34	Francis McHenry			Philadelphia	" Spring 1750	
35	Timothy Griffith			New Castle	" Fall 1750	D. 1753 or 54

Presbyterian Ministers Who Labored in Virginia

No.	Name	Presbytery			Service	Removal (R.) or Death (D.)
		Licensed by	Ordained by	Member of		
36	James Davenport			New Brunswick	Itinerated 1750	
37	Hector Alison			New Castle (Old Side)	" fall 1751	
38	Sampson Smith		Donegal	Donegal	" Spring 1752	
39	John Todd	New Brun- swick 1750	New Brun- swick 1751	New Br. - 1755 Hanover 1755-93	Providence in Louisa Co. and Vicinity 11-12-1752 — 7-27-1793	D. 7-27-1793
40	Wm McKenna				Supplied in the Valley 1752-3	
41	John Brown	New Castle		New Castle - 1755 Hanover 1755-86 Lexington, 1786-95	New Providence 1753-95 Timber Ridge 1753 — 10-11-1767	R. to Ky. 1795 D. 1803.
42	Robert Henry	New York	New York 1753		Itinerated 1753 Curt Creek 1755-1767 Greery "	D. 5-8-1767
43	Nehemiah Greenman			Abingdon	Itinerated 1753; 1755	
44	John Hoge	New Castle (New Side) 10-10-1753	New Castle (N.S.) 1753	New Castle - 1758 Donegal - 1758	Oaconon and Cedar Creek 1754-72	R. to Pa. about 1775
45	John Kinkead	Phila 1753-4	Philadelphia 1753-4	Philadelphia	Itinerated 1754-5	
46	Hugh McAden (McGadden)			New Castle - 1759 Hanover 1759-70	Itinerated 1755; 1759	R. to N.C. 3-31-1768
47	John Wright	New Castle	New Castle 1753	New Castle - 1755 Hanover 1755-	Cumberland July 1755 — 6-27-1762 Willis's Creek 1755 — 7-17-1758 Hanover's " — 1758	Suspended 6-27-1762
48	Alex. Miller		(S. Ireland)	Donegal 1757-58 Hanover 1758-	Peaked Mt (Hawamitten) 1756-65 Cook's Creek "	Deposed in 1766
49	John Martin	Hanover 8-25-1756	Hanover 7-24-1757	Hanover 1757-	Itinerated 1756-58 Missionary to the Indians 1-25-1758-	
50	Henry Patillo	Hanover 9-28-1757	Hanover	Hanover - 1770	Willis, Bird, Buck Island 9-27-1758 to Cumberland, Harris Co. 5-4-1762. Cumberland, Harris Co. 5-4-1762 to 1765.	R. to N.C. 1765
51	Wm. Richardson	Hanover 1-25-1758	Hanover 7-12-1758	Hanover 1758-	Itinerated 1758 Apd. Missionary to the Indians 9-27-1758	R. to S.C. 1760
52	James Hunt			New Brunswick Hanover 1761-	Itinerated occasionally 1758-63 Supplied Alexandria 1772	

53	James Caldwell			New Brunswick	Itinerated occasionally 1758-63	
54	Wm. Kirkpatrick			" "	" 1759	
55	Richard Sankey	Donegal 10-13-1736	Donegal 8-31-1738	Donegal - 1760 Hanover 1760-90	Buffalo in Pr. Edu. Co. 9-24-1760-1790	D. 1790
56	James Latta			Philadelphia	Synodical Supply 1760	
57	James Waddell	Hanover 4-2-1761	Hanover 6-17-1762	Hanover - 1805	Northern Neck (Lane & Northum, Cos.) 1762-78 Sinking Spring 1778-85 Supplied in vicinity of Gordonsville 1785-1805	D. 9-17-1805
58	Jacob Kerr			Leicester	Itinerated 1763	
59	Enoch Green			New Brunswick	Supplied Hanover & vacavails 1762	
60	Robert Cooper			Donegal	Itinerated in the Lower Valley in the Sixties	
61	John McCreary			New Castle	" " " " " "	
62	Ames Thompson		New Brunswick 1763 or 64	New Brunswick Donegal 1767- Winchester 1799-	Itinerated 1764. Living in Virginia 1769 Supplied Alexandria 1772 Rister Hittcock & Gum Spring - 1776	D. 1804.
63	James Creswell	Hanover 5-2-1764	Hanover 10-3-1765	Hanover - 1770		R. to H. C.
64	David Rice	Hanover 11-9-1762	Hanover 12-29-1763	Hanover 1763-	Hanover - 10-15-1766 Bedford (Peaks) 1766-5-21-83 Concord " - 10-30-1777	R. to Ky. 5-21-1783
65	Charles Cummings	Hanover 4-18-1766	Hanover 5-14-1767	Hanover - 1785 Abingdon 1785-	Brown's M.N. 10-16-1766-4-9-1772 Sinking Spring 6-2-1773-5-23-1782 Sinking " " - 1812	D. March 1812
66	David Caldwell			New Brunswick Hanover 1767-70	Itinerated 1767	R. to H. C.
67	Joseph Alexander	New Castle	Hanover 3-4-1768	Hanover - 1770	" "	R. to H. C. 10-11-1767
68	Samuel Leak	Hanover 4-18-1766	Hanover 5-3-1767	Hanover - 1775	Cord and Gardens 4-14-1769-1775 D. S. 10-19-1770 - "	D. 12-2-1775
69	Thomas Jackson	New York	Hanover 5-3-1769	Hanover - 1773	Peaked Mt (Hussamutter) 5-3-1764-1773 Cock's Creek " "	D. 5-13-1773
70	Hezekiah Balch	Donegal 1768	Hanover 3-8-1770	Hanover - 1785 Abingdon 1785-	Itinerated	R. to Tenn. D. Apr. 1810
71	Hugh Vance	Donegal	Donegal 5-21-1771	Donegal - 1786 Carlisle 1786-	Tuscarora 1770-1792 Falling Waters " " Back Creek " "	D. 1792

Presbyterian Ministers Who Labored in Virginia

No.	Name	Presbytery		Service	Removal (R.) or Death (D.)
		Licensed by	Ordained by	Member of	
72	Wm. Irvin	Hanover 10-18-1770	Hanover 4-9-1772	Hanover 1772-	Rockfish, & Mountain Plains 10-10-1771-1776 S.S. Ave, " 1776-10-5-1792
73	James Campbell	Hanover 10-10-1771			Itinerated D. 1792
74	John Simons			Donegal	" 1772-75
75	Samuel Waugh			"	Supplied in Northern Neck 1772; 1778-82
76	James Lang			"	" Alexander 1772 Itinerated in Northern Neck 1778-82
77	Wm. Thom		Donegal	"	Pastor Alexandria 1772-73 D. 1773
78	Samuel Edmondson	Hanover 10-14-1773			Itinerated
79	Caleb Wallace	New Brunswick	Hanover 10-13-1774	Hanover-1783	Out-Back & Little Felling R. 1774-1779 Roan-Dak in Brittain Q. 6-10-1779-1783 R. to Ky. 1783.
80	James Templeton	Hanover 10-26-1775			Itinerated
81	Samuel McCorkle	New York			" 1775
82	Ebenezer Brooks			Lewestown	" 1775; 1777; 1780; 1782
83	Samuel S. Smith	New Castle	Hanover 10-27-1775	Hanover -1779	Cumberland, & Briery 1775-10-29-1779 Resident Hampden-Sydney, " " 10-29-1779
84	Philip V. Fithian	1774			Itinerated in the Valley 1775
85	Wm. Marshall			Associate	Visited Old Providence 1775-6.
86	James Martin			Associate	Visited Old Providence 1775-6.
87	John McKnight	Donegal	Donegal 12-3-1776	Donegal 1776-	Elk Branch 12-3-1776-1782
88	Wm. Graham	Hanover 10-26-1775	Hanover Oct. 1776	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786-	Timber Ridge & Hall 5 M. H. 5-4-1776-1796 Rector Elkhart Hall Academy 1776- " D. 6-8-1799

89	Thaddeus Dodd				Redstone, 1781-	Patterson's Auk 1777-79	
90	John Murray				Associate	Visited Old Providence 1777	
91	Andrew Patton				"	"	
92	Edward Crawford	Hanover 10-31-1777	(Hanover)	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786-96 Abingdon 1794-		Sinking Spring & Spreading Spring 1778-82 Bottinick & Oxford from about 1783-92 Glade Spring 1792- to about 1816.	
93	Samuel Doak	Hanover 10-31-1777	Hanover Dec. 1778	Hanover - 1785 Abingdon 1785-		Itinerates and locates in Tenn. Founded Washington College in Tenn.	
94	Archd. Scott	Hanover 10-31-1777	Hanover Dec. 1778	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786-		North Mountain & Brown's 10-28-1778-1799	D. 3-4-1799
95	James McConnell	Donegal	Hanover 6-18-1778	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786		Rockbridge, Oxford & Falling Spring - 1778-85	R. 10-23-1787
96	Joseph Henderson			Donegal		Itinerated in Northern Neck 1778-1780	
97	John Smith			Associate		Visited Old Providence 1778	
98	Wm. Logan			"		" Timber Ridge (A.R.P.) 1778	
99	James Proudfoot			"		"	1779
100	James Clarkson			"		" The Valley 1780	
101	James Crawford	Hanover 10-28-1779				Itinerated 1779	
102	John B. Smith	Hanover 4-29-1778	Hanover 10-27-1779	Hanover - 1791		Cumberland & Briery, 4-25-1780-1791 Provident Hampden Sydney "	R. to Pa. 10-29-1791
103	John Montgomery	Hanover 10-28-1778	Hanover 4-27-1780	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786-		Oppegwon, Cedar Creek, Winchester 1781-89 Rocky Spring, Wabash's (Balf/Pattin) 1789-96, ^{Neale}	D. 1818
104	Benjamin Erwin	Hanover 10-28-1778	Hanover 6-20-1780	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786-96		Cock's Creek & Mowry Creek, 4-26-1780-1796	D. 1796
105	William Wilson	Hanover 10-28-1779	Hanover Nov. 1781	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786-		Augusta Stone, 10-24-1780 - 1810 Retired 1810	D. 12-1-1835
106	Terah Tamplin	Hanover 4-27-1780	1785			Itinerated 1780	R. to Ky. D. 10-6-1818
107	Isaac S. Keith	Philadelphia 1780	Philadelphia 1780	Philadelphia - 1780 Donegal 1780-86 Carlisle 1786-		Porter Alexandria 1780-89	

Presbyterian Ministers Who Labored in Virginia

No.	Name	Presbytery		Service	Removal (R.) or Death (G.)
		Licensed by	Ordained by		
108	Moses Hoge	Hanover 1781	Hanover - 1786 Lexington 1786-94 12-13-1782 Winchester 1794 - Donegall	South Branch of the Potomac 1781 - 87 Ship husband 1787 - 1807 President Hampshire - Sydney 1807 - Hittcockton & Gum Spring - 1782	D. 7-5-1820
109	David Bard				
110	Thomas Craighead			Ebbing Spring 1782 - 90	
111	Andrew McClure	Hanover 10-25-1782	Hanover 5-18-1784	N. & S. Fork of Roan-Oak, 5-18-1782 for several years.	R. & Ky. before 1786
112	John Rodgers			Old Providence 1782 - 90 Timber Ridge Also a medical Doctor.	D. 1812 in Virginia.
113	Adam Rankin	Hanover 10-25-1782	Hanover 1784	Sinking Spring & Tinker Creek 1783 to about 1785	R. to Ky. 1785
114	John McCue	Hanover 5-23-1782	Hanover 1783	Itinerated Accepted call to Companion & Good Hope in Franklin Sinking Spring & Staunton 9-20-1791 - 1818	D. 1818
115	David Barr			Itinerated in Pennsylvania Co. about 1783	
116	Samuel Houston	Hanover 10-25-1782	Hanover 8-20-1783	Providence in Washington Co. Tenn. 1783-89 Falling Spring & High Bridge 1791 - until forced to retire	D. 1-20-1839
117	Samuel Carrick	Hanover 10-25-1782	Hanover Nov. 1783	Rocky Spring & Wakeley 1783 - 1786 Supplied in Lexington Presby. 1786 - 1791	R. to Tenn. 1791
118	Samuel Shannon	Hanover 10-26-1781	Hanover 11-24-1784	Windy Bow and Blue Spring 10-26-1784 - 1787	R. to Ky. 4-10-1787 D. 1822
119	John D. Blair	Hanover 10-28-1784	Hanover 1785 or 6.	Itinerated 1784-91 Hanover & Henrico (Richmond) 1791 -	D. 1-10-1823
120	James Mitchell	Hanover 10-26-1781	Hanover 8-24-1784	Peaks of Otter in Bedford 3-28-1785 - 1841	D. 1841
121	Jacob Jennings	Swiss Reformed Church formed	Swiss Reformed Church formed	Concrete in Smith Branch 1787 - 1792	
122	Wm. Mahore	Hanover 5-23-1785	Hanover 10-11-1788	Hart Creek & Concord 1788 - 1795	R. 1795
123	Daniel McCalla			Itinerated	R. to S.C.
124	Drury Lacy	Hanover 9-22-1787	Hanover 10-11-1788	Quab Creek & Wakeley Ch. 1787 - 93. Coming Resident Hampshire - Sydney 1784 - 96 Cumberland 1796 - 1815	D. 11-5-1815

			in Episcopal	Hanover 1787-	Supplied various vacancies	
125	Archd. McRobert			New Castle	Itinerated in Eastern Va., 1788	
126	Robert Smith			Baltimore 1789-1820	Alexander 1789-1820	D. 1820
127	James Muir			Hanover - 1792 Lexington 1792-4 Winchester 1794-	Itinerated 1789 under Com. of Synod. Onegnon, Cedar Creek & Winchester 1790-1809	D. 1814.
128	Nash Legrand	Hanover 4-25-1789	Hanover 4-5-1791	Hanover 1809	Preached to Republican Methodists - Brought his ch. into Han. Pres 1809 -	
129	Clement Read	Hanover 4-25-1789			Itinerated under Com. of Synod	R. to Ky. as candidate 1794
130	Cary Allen	Hanover 5-6-1790			" " 1789-90	R. to H. C. 5-6-1790
131	Wm. Moore	Methodist Ch. in	Hanover 10-17-1789		" " 1789	
132	Robert Finley			South Carolina		
133	William Hill	Hanover 7-10-1790	Lexington 5-31-1792	Lexington - 1794 Winchester 1794 -	1790-91 Charleston; Onegnon & Smithfield 1792-9 Winchester 1800-1834	D. 1-16-1852
134	David Wiley				Teacher at Nampden Sydney. Supplied Briery - 1790	
135	Joseph Caldwell	Carleisle recd. by Rev. 9-29-1791			Co-pastor at Winchester & Bol Spring 1791-2	
136	John Lyle	Lexington 4-26-1791	Lexington 11-30-1793	Lexington - 1794 Winchester 1794-	Itinerated 1791 under Com. of Synod. Romney, Springfield, Frankfort, 1793-1807	D. 1807
137	Joseph Smith			Redstone	Itinerated 1791	
138	Archd. Alexander	Lexington 10-1-1791	Hanover 6-7-1794	Hanover - 1806	" " 1791-94 Briery & Cut Creek 1794-98 Pres. Nampden-Sydney 1796-1806	R. to Pa. 1806
139	James Hall			Orange	Itinerated 1792; 1794.	
140	Thomas Poage	Lexington 4-28-1792			" " under Com. of Synod 1792	D. 10-1-1793.
141	Matthew Lyle	Lexington 4-28-1792	Hanover 2-13-1795		" " " " " " " " Briery and Buffalo, 10-22-1794 - 1827	D. 3-22-1827
142	Benj. Grigsby	Lexington 4-28-1792	Lexington 7-2-1795	Lexington 1795-	Itinerated 1792, under Com. of Synod S.E. Va. Rushing & Sink in Granbury, 9-26-1794 - Norfolk 1804-10	D. 10-6-1810
143	Wm. Calhoun	Hanover 5-12-1792	Pennsylvania Hanover 1799-1805 Lexington 1805-	Pennsylvania - 1799 Hanover 1799-1805 Lexington 1805-	Itinerated 1792-3 Supplied D.S. 1799-1805 Staunton & Brown's Sh. N. 1805-	

Presbyterian Ministers Who Labored in Virginia

No	Name	Presbytery		Service	Removal (R.) or Death (D.)
		Licensed by	Ordained by		
144	James Turner	Hanover 10-29-1791	Hanover 7-28-1792	Pricks (Collegiate with Mitchell 1792-1827	D. 1827
145	John Young	Pennsylvania A.R.P. 1791	Penn. A.R.P. 1792	Old Providence & Timber Ridge 1792-99	D. 7-24-1893
146	Moses Waddell	Hanover 5-12-1792		Discontinued	R. 10-5-1792
147	Wm. Williamson	Hanover 5-12-1792	Hanover 11-11-1793	South River (Front Royal) 1792-1848	D. 1848
148	John Campbell	Rexington 5-31-1792		New Mount & Lexington 1793-95	R. to Ky. 9-10-1795
149	Matthieu Houston	Rexington 9-23-1792	Rexington 6-7-1793	Discontinued under Com. of Synod	R. to Ky. 4-19-1796
150	Adam Freeman	Rexington 6-10-1793		Discontinued	R. Sept 10, 1795
151	Wm Baldridge			Botetourt & Fork of the James 1793-1803	D. 10-26-1830
152	Samuel Renals	Rexington 10-12-1793		Supplied Vacancies	R. to Ky. 4-19-1796
153	John Boyd			Jussacora & Falling Waters 1799-1801	
154	Samuel Ramsey	Rexington 4-18-1795		Supplied Vacancies	R. to Tenn. 10-19-1797
155	Robert Stuart	Rexington 4-18-1795		Discontinued under Commission of Synod.	R. to Ky. 5-8-1799
156	Samuel Brown	Hanover 4-16-1793	Rexington 9-23-1796	New Providence, 9-23-1796-1818	D. 10-13-1818
157	Robert Davis	Rexington 4-19-1796		Discontinued	Suspended 10-16-1799
158	John Cree		Pennsylvania A.R.P. 10-12-1792	Ebenezer 1796-1803	D. 4-1-1806
159	John Lyle	Rexington 4-21-1797		Discontinued under Com. Synod 1797-99	
160	John Black			Discontinued 1797	
161	James Vance	Winchester 1797		"	R. to Ky. 9-26-1798

162	James Robinson	Winchester 11-4-1796	Hamover 5-9-1799	Hamover 1799-	Cove, and Rockfish 1798	
163	George Baxter	Lexington 4-21-1797	Lexington 10-18-1799		New Mammouth 1799-1821 Lexington " "	
164	Wm. Chipley	Lexington 9-23-1797			Unsettled	Suspended 10-24-1800
165	Robt. Wilson	Lexington 4-21-1797	Lexington 5-10-1799	Lexington 1799-	Windy Cove Rock River Rocky Spring Oct. 17, 1798-1804 " " "	
166	Joseph Glass	Winchester 1797	Winchester 10-26-1799	Winchester 1799-	Garrardstown 1799-1817 Back Creek " - 1806	D. 1821
167	John Mines	Winchester 4-27-1798			Supplied Vacancies	
168	Daniel Blain	Lexington 4-10-1798	Lexington 11-18-1800		" " " and Unsettled Timber Ridge & Oxford 1800-	D. 3-19-1814
169	John Glendy			Roche, Ireland, -1799 Lexington 1799-	Supplied Vacancies.	
170	Robert Logan	Lexington 10-20-1798	Lexington 4-9-1800	Lexington - 1828	" " " and Unsettled Faircastle 1800-1828	D. Oct. 1828
171	John Chavis (Colored)	Lexington 11-18-1800			Appt. to Supply at Discretion	
172	John Todd, Jr.	Hamover 9-13-1800			Supplied vacancies	R. to Ky.
173	James Harper			A.R.P. Synod	Supplied Timber Ridge (A.R.P.) 1800.	

APPENDIX

IV

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The following Bibliography includes all material found to be relevant^{to} Virginia Presbyterianism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though it is not claimed to be exhaustive. All items are listed alphabetically according to the Author's name, when such is given, otherwise according to Subjects, with the exception of Histories of Individual Churches, which it was found to be more convenient to list according to the name of the church.

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This may be the church "of the blind preacher rendered memorable by Wm. Wirt in the 'British Spy.'" It stood on the north side of the Orange highway about a half mile northeast of Gordonsville. Between 1850 and 1856, the historic old building was taken down and the lumber used to build a temperance hall at Gordonsville. After the war it was used for some years as a school-house. Finally it was condemned that a street might be opened, and the material was bought by a negro preacher, who reconverted it into another structure.(1)

Mr. Foote tells us that James Waddell also preached at "Hopewell, near Gordonsville," and "at the Brick Church, near Orange Court House."(2)

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